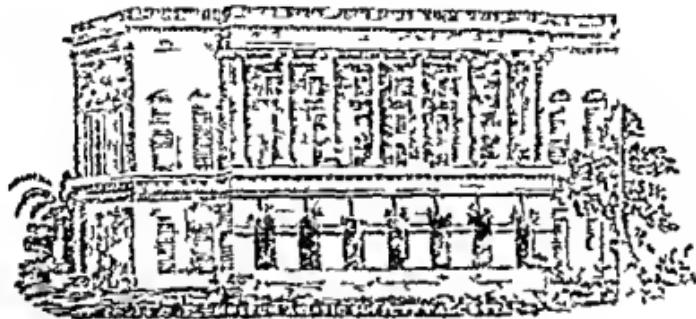


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MUNTAKHABU-T-TAWĀRIKH
BY
'ABDU-L QĀDIR IBN I MULŪK SHĀH
KNOWN AS
AL-BADAONI
TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL PERSIAN
AND EDITED
BY
CAPTAIN T. WOLSELEY HAIG, I.S.C., V.R.A.S.
*Offg Inspector General of Police, Jails, Registration, Stamps, and Ecclesiastical
Hyderabad Assigned Districts*
Vol III FASC 1

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ENGLISH TRANSLATION.

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BY

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VOLUME III

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL PERSIAN AND EDITED BY

SIR WOLSELEY HAIG, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., C.M.G., C.B.E.

Lieutenant Colonel, Indian Army (Retired)

*Professor of Arabic, Persian, and Hindustani in the University of Dublin,
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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

This volume completes the translation of the *Muntakhabu 't-tawārīkh* of 'Abdu'l Qādir b. Mu'luk Shīb' al-Badaoni, in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series. Its sources are those enumerated by Lieutenant Colonel G. S. A. Ranking in the preface to his translation of volume I.

It was begun as long ago as 1897, but owing to the constant pressure of official duties was not finished until 1903 and even then could not be immediately printed owing to difficulties in the way of allotting funds for the expenses of publication. The index and list of errata have only lately been finished.

Frequent interruptions in the work are responsible for some inconsistencies in transliteration—such for instance, as *Shamsu'd din* and *Shams nd din*, *Khāja* *Kh'aja* and *Khwaja*. My excuse for the frequent omission of any equivalent for the latter, in transliterating the latter word is that the translation was made, for the most part, in India, where the frequent pronunciation of this muto letter was so offensive that at the time I judged it better to preserve the correct pronunciation by omitting it. I confess that this is not a very good excuse for the omission of a letter, but it is the best that I can offer.

I have nothing to add to Lieutenant Colonel Ranking's remarks on the difficulty of translating from Persian, except that they apply with peculiar force to an author like Badaoni, writing in a language not his own. His style is stilted and inelegant as must nearly always be the case with an author labouring under this disadvantage, and he persists in one error—the misuse of the word *shāfi*, which means “ungrudging emulation” but is always used by him in the sense of “envy”—but it is free from the bombastic prolixity and gross affectation of that of his compatriot and contemporary, Shaikh Ahū'l Fazl.

As this volume of the historian's work consists to a great

extent of literary criticism, I have been careful to translate both his text and the excerpts of verse quoted by him as literally as possible, in order to convey some idea, however faint, of his standard of literary excellence. In only one or two passages, to which reference is made in notes, have I ventured to modify expressions which in an English dress would have been merely ridiculous; but I am conscious that many of the passages which I have rendered more exactly will appear grotesque. This was unavoidable, and is due partly to the wide divergence between the standards of taste of Persian writers of the sixteenth and English readers of the twentieth centuries, and partly to Badāoni's own defects.

A few passages are so indecent that I have been constrained to veil them in such disguise as a dead language affords. To this practice it may be objected that it calls attention to what is unseemly, but a book of this nature will seldom be taken up but by genuine seekers after knowledge, who are not likely to suffer harm from the obscenities of Badāoni, or of those whom he quotes.

Interruptions in the work of translation are also responsible for a rather long list of *errata*, for which, and for other imperfections I crave the indulgence of my readers.

W. H.

TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN.

April 7, 1924.

"IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE MERCIFUL, THE COMPASSIONATE!"

CHAPTER I

I will state at the outset¹ that as the author of the *Tārikh-i-Nizamu*² has given an account of the nobles of the realm immediately after his history of the empire, and as most of them are now dead, and gone to perdition,³

[In no one have I seen fidelity,

If thou hast found one who possesses it convey to him my blessing]

I will refrain from polluting the nib of my pen with a description of such worthless wretches, and will commence with the enumeration of some of the holy men of the age, for an account of noble men who have chosen the way of God is in every way to be preferred to an account of scoundrels and debauchees. And so will I not be a mark for threats and communions⁴ ("Throw dust on the faces of those who praise without stint," and again, "may God protect us from the wickedness of tyrants"⁵) An account of the base acts of the followers (of the Divine Faith),⁶

¹ ملکی سے ملکا literally, "let it not be concealed," a common form of commencing a history

² Nizamu d Din Ahmad, vido *Ain-i-Akbari* passim His history is generally known as the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*

³ Such expressions as this explain Badoni's reason for keeping this history secret. The literal translation is 'and have not been pardoned'

⁴ I.e., "were I to mention these men at all I could only mention them in such a manner as would lead to my being persecuted, for I will not give praise where it is not due. I will therefore keep silence regarding them"

⁵ Two pious ejaculations in Arabic the former, which is one of the *sayings*, or traditional sayings of Muhammad, denouncing flatterers while the latter prays for protection from tyrants

⁶ These are evidently the persons intended by the word *كاذب*. Badoni as a good Muslim was much scandalized by the strange freaks of the followers of this new religion of Akbar's

with whose unclean existence the age is polluted may be thus described :—

Their letters do not spell sense,¹
 Nor do their thoughts tend in the direction of sense;
 Think meanly of the base, and of those whose faith is weak,
 Form the same estimate of the latter as of the former.
 When one can call to mind one's friends,
 And so make the heart a garden of sweet memories,
 Pity were it to mention one's enemies
 For that were to quit the sweet garden for the midden.²

The holy men by whose noble existence the reign of Akbar
 2. Shāh was adorned have now, for the most part, withdrawn, as
 the 'angā³ retires to the mountains of Qāf, to the neighbourhood
 of the Great God. It is as though they had all conspired together
 to roll up and remove the baggage of life from this dwelling of
 care and deceit and to take up their abode in the home of joy
 and bliss. And now of that caravan not one remains to encourage
 stragglers.

"The mansions are deserted, temporary and permanent
 dwelling alike,
 "Nothing remains but owls and rubbish."⁴

I shall begin with that class of men who were regularly employed in the Imperial service until⁵ their fame reached such a pitch that it was as manifest as the sun at midday.

¹ The reference to the idiomatic use of the word حرف (*harf*) "a letter of the alphabet" as in the phrase حرف زد, "to talk," is hard to reproduce in a translation. The meaning of the line is :—"The letters (or sounds) of which their talk is composed do not spell (or make) sense."

² كُلْخَن lit., 'dustbin,' otherwise 'the furnace used for heating a bath.' The unsavouriness of the latter would be due to the nature of the fuel used.

³ A fabulous bird, described as being "known as to name, but unknown as to body." Its abode is in Qāf, a mountain encircling the world, which may be described in much the same terms as is the bird. In practical, as opposed to mythical geography, the name is given to the Caucasus.

⁴ This Arabic couplet is clearly a parody on the opening couplet of the fourth *qasidah* of the تَلَهُ مَعْلُومٌ سِبْعَ سِبْعَ. In the second hemistich the word سِبْعَ appears in the text, and also in MSS. (A) and (B). This does not make sense. I prefer to read سِبْعَ.

⁵ لِ in the text, despite the clear meaning of the passage and the authority of both MSS.

I MIYĀN HĀTİM OF SAMBHĀL¹

(*May God sanctify his tomb*)

Miyān Hatim² was a profound sage who passed very many years in teaching. He was endowed with both inward and outward perfection. While he was engaged in acquiring knowledge he was overcome by religious ecstasy,³ and, forsaking scholastic disputations, attached himself as a disciple to his teacher, Shāikh Azīzn-llāh, a learned man of Talamhn,⁴ who was of those who are truly wise in the way of God, and was one of the most highly regarded of the holy men of his time. He also spent some time in the service of Shāikh ‘Alān-d-Dīn Cishti⁵ of Dihli, (may God sanctify his soul!) following his rule, and obtained from both of these holy men permission to perfect their students and disciples. At the time when he was first drawn towards God he wandered about for ten years, bareheaded and barefooted, in the waste country round about Sambhal and Amroha,⁶ and during all this time his head touched not bed or bolster. He was a man who took keen pleasure in contemplating God and whom the singing of God's praises threw into an ecstasy of delight, and ever, as he spoke and smiled, the name of God was on his tongue. In his last years the intoxication of joy which he experienced in his love for God so overpowered him that to, listen but for a short space to the chanting of God's praises

¹ Sambhal was then the principal town of the *Sarkar* of the same name in the *Suba* of Dihli. It is now a Tahsil town and Municipality in the Muradabad District N W P.

² Vide Vol I (trans Ranking), p 428

³ I.e. the ecstasy of the *Sufis*, or mystics of Islam, which will be described hereafter

⁴ Now a municipal town in the Sarai Sidhu Tahsil of the Mianian District, Panjab (Hunter's "Imperial Gazetteer of India," XIII, 163) Vide Badaoni I. (trans Ranking) p 389 n 2

⁵ A family and order of ascetics. Vide *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol III trans Jarrett, pp. 354 357, 361, 369, 370, 422. Also *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, 'Aligarh edition (1864), p 1, and preface, pp 3, 4 *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol I (trans Blochmann), p 309, *Qanun-i-Islam* (Ja'far Sharif and Dr Herklots) ed., 1832, p 289 and *Akbarnama* text, p 154

⁶ A town in the *Sarkar* of Sambhal, *Suba* of Dihli. Vide *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol I (trans Jarrett), p 289

placed him beside himself. He had not the strength to listen to hymns.

When I, in the year 960 A.H. (A.D. 1553), being then in my twelfth year, arrived in company with my father at Sambhal,
 3. and there entered the service of the Shaikh, I learnt by heart, in his hospice, the *Qaṣīda-yi-burda*,¹ and thus gained admission (to the ranks of his disciples), and there I also read, to my great spiritual advantage and profit, part of the book *Kanz-i-fiqh-i-Hanafi*.² The Shaikh then enrolling me among his direct disciples said to my father, "I have bestowed upon your son the cap and the tree³ which descend from my spiritual teacher Miyān Shaikh 'Azizū-'llāh for this reason, that he may acquire also some exoteric knowledge" (*i.e.*, beyond the esoteric knowledge which he was to acquire). And for this praise be to God. In the year 969 A.H. (A.D. 1561-2) the holy Shaikh went into God's Presence, and the words "the wise *darvīsh*".⁴ give the date of his death. May God make his dust fragrant! And it so happened that my father too received the summons of God's mercy in the same year. One might say that the position in

¹ There are two *Qaṣīdahs* which go by this name. The former, the original *Qaṣīdatu-l-burdah*, was written by Ka'bū-'bnu-Zuhair, in praise of Muḥammad, during the latter's lifetime. Muḥammad bestowed upon the poet as a reward his own *burdah* or cloak of striped cloth of Yaman. Hence the name given to the poem. The latter was written by Shaikh Sharafu'-d-Dīn Abū 'Abdu-'llāh Muḥammad bin Sa'īd Būshīrī, who died in 694 A.H. (1294 A.D.), and was at first named *Al Kawākibu-d-darrīyah* or "glittering stars." Various reasons are given for the bestowal on it of the name *Qaṣīdatu-l-burdah*. This latter poem was also written in praise of Muḥammad. (Vido *Hājī Khalīfa* Fluegel, 1845, Vol. IV., 523-533.) The latter poem is the better known of the two, and it was probably this that Badāoni learnt.

² This book was probably the *Kanzu-d-daqā, iq fī surū'i-l-Hanafiyah* by Shaikh Al Imām Abū-'l-Barakāt 'Abdu-'llāhi bni-Alīmad, known as Hāfiẓu-d-dīni-n-Nasafi vide *Hājī Khalīfa*, Vol. V. (ed. 1850), pp. 249-253. The author died in 710 A.H. (1310 A.D.).

³ شجرة (*Shajara*) or شجر نامہ (*Shajar-nāma*) a list of saints, or holy predecessors, which is drawn up in the form of a genealogical tree, and should go back to the time of Muḥammad. It is delivered into the hands of a student when he is made either a *murīd* (disciple) or *Khalīfah* (dopnty) as evidence of his spiritual descent. Vide *Qānūn-i-Islām* by Ja'far Sharīf and Dr. Herklots (1832), pp. 283, 300.

⁴ درویش دانشمند (*darvīsh-i-dānishmand*) giving the figures

$$4 + 200 + 6 + 10 + 300 + 4 + 1 + 50 + 300 + 40 + 50 + 4 = 969.$$

which he stood to the Shuh^h as his disciple made it necessary that he should so follow him

II. SHAIKH JALALU'-D-DIN OF THĀVESAR

He was the *Khalifah*¹ or deputy of Shuh^h 'Ahdo'-I Qoddus of Gangoh² (may God sanctify their tombs!) His attainments, both in exoteric and in esoteric learning, were great, and he employed himself in imparting instruction in divinity and in the spreading abroad of those branches of knowledge which are, as the subject of divine revelation, certainly proved. In his last years he abandoned the pursuit of secular knowledge and, choosing privacy rather than publicity, spent his valuable time in reading through the blessed Qur'an, in performing works of supererogation, and in praise and prayer. When he was ninety-three years of age he was exceedingly weak and feeble, so that there seemed to be nothing remaining of him but skin and bone.

Couplet

When the veins of an aged man, in consequence of his abandonment of worldly desires, stand out on his skin
Then it is that he becomes as it were, a ruler to guide
disciples in the way of righteousness³

And although he had not so much strength left as enabled him to sit down and rise up⁴ and to move about, and used, in consequence of his feebleness and weakness to lie all day long in a reclining position, yet no sooner did he hear the call to prayer than he would, without the assistance of anybody, rise

¹ Vide supra note 1

² Vide *Ain-i Akbari* Vol I (trans Blochmann) pp 538 546 and Vol III (trans Jarrett) p 374 'Abdu'l Quddus asserted that he was descended from Abu Hanifah. He died in A H 939 (A D 1543) and was buried at Gangoh where he had lived. Gangoh is a town now in the Saharanpur Dist. N W P

³ The translation may not perhaps render the meaning of this couplet clear, owing to a confusion of terms. The word *shāhī* (mīstār) means "a ruler," the instrument for ruling lines. In the original Persian a comparison is drawn between the prominent veins of an emaciated old man, grown old in the way of holiness and the ruler which directs the pen or rather the hand of him who holds the pen, in a straight line.

⁴ The text omits the words بارهastan (bar *Hastan*) "to rise up," as does also MS (B). In inserting them I follow MS (A)

up, put on his shoes, take his staff in his hand, perform his ceremonial ablutions by himself and without any help, and stand up for his prayers.¹ This done he would again recline in his wonted position on his couch. I twice had the honour of attending on him, once in the year H. 969 (A.D. 1561-2), in Āgra, when he had come there to settle the matter of his *aima*² holding in Thānesar³ and to have the subject represented, and again in the year A.H. 981 (A.D. 1573-4) when I was accompanying *Husain Khān* in his pursuit of *Ulugh Mirzā*.⁴ He seemed to me to be a quantity of (divine) light in bodily form. He bade farewell to this transitory world in the year A.H. 989 (A.D. 1581), May God remember him to his good!

III. SHAİKH MUHAMMAD GHAUS OF GWALIYĀR.⁵

He was the disciple of Shaikh Zuhūr and Hājī Huzūr, other-

¹ The miraculous part of this fact is that the ceremonial prayers of Muslims contain various genuflexions and prostrations, in addition to the standing position. The ceremonial prayers are recited five times every day. This was no mean performance for an old man of 93 who had no strength to rise or stand on ordinary occasions. If what Badāoni says is true the probability is that Shaikh Jalālu-d-Dīn, finding that the regular ceremonial prayers so exhausted him that he could not undergo any exertion in addition to them, kept his bed except at prayer times, reserving all his strength for his religious exercises.

² Lands held on *aima* tenure were rent-free grants given as *madad-i-ma'āsh*, or subsistence allowance, to deserving individuals. For an account of the troubles that used to befall persons who came to Court on business connected with *aima* holdings vide Badāoni, Vol. II. text pp. 204-5, trans. pp. 207-8.

³ A *mahall* in the *sarkār* of Sarhind, *Sūbah* of Dihlī and a place of pilgrimage among the Hindus (*Āin-i-Akbarī* (trans.), Vol. II. 281). It is now a small town in the Ambāla district, Panjab.

⁴ This happened before Badāoni left the service of *Husain Khān* for that of the Emperor. *Husain Khān*, nicknamed *Tukriya*, or "the patcher," from his having ordered Hindus, as unbelievers, to wear a patch on their garments near the shoulders, was "the Bayard and the Don Quixote of Akbar's reign" (Blochmann). For accounts of him vide *Āin-i-Akbarī*, Vol. I. (trans. Blochmanu), p. 372. He was Badāoni's first patron. *Ulugh Mirzā* (whose name had been changed from Sikandar to *Ulugh* by the Emperor Hūmāyūn) was the elder son of *Ulugh Mirzā*, the eldest son of Muhammad Sultān Mirzā of the House of Timūr. Muhammad Sultān Mirzā was the great-great-grandson of 'Umar Shaikh Mirzā, the second son of Timūr. He was thus a distant cousin of Akbar.

⁵ Gwalior, the famous fortress.

wise known as Hājī Ḥamid, and his spiritual descent could be traced back, through the line of the *Shattārī* order of ascetics to Shaikh Bāyazid of Bustām,¹ the prince of knowers of God. (May God sanctify his soul!) When entering on the religious life he spent twelve years on the lower slopes of the hills of Conār² and the adjoining country, practising the most severe austerities, having his dwelling in caves and subsisting on the leaves of trees. He was an acknowledged master in the science of exorcism,³ he possessed supernatural power, and was drawn in a mysterious manner towards God.⁴ He obtained leave to practise this science (*scil.* exorcism) from his elder brother, Sheikh Buhlul,⁵ who was a worker of miracles and wonders.

¹ Shaikh Bāyazid of Bustām (a small town in the hills of Tabaristān, between the ancient city of Rāz and Nishapur) was originally named Saifur, and founded the *Tasfuriyah* order of ascetics. He is said to have been born in A.H. 136 (A.D. 753-4) and to have died at Barjam, the date of his death being variously given as A.H. 231, 234, 261, 262 and 269. One of his "spiritual descendants" was Shaikh 'Abdu'llah b. Shatir, who founded the *Shattārī* order. He came from Persia to India and died in Malwa, where he is buried, in A.H. 809 (A.D. 1406). Jahangir erected a mausoleum over his tomb in Māndū. The word شَافِر (Shaffārī) is derived from the Arabic root شَافِر (Shaf'ir) meaning "he travelled in the direction of". Its meaning as applied to 'Abdu'llah and his followers is "one who outstrips and is quick in attaining nearness to God". In the language of the order شَافِر علم (ilm : Shafarah) means "the working and aspirations of the soul". From the facts of Badoni applying the title *Sultan* to Shaikh Bāyazid, and of Shaikh Muhammad's penance of twelve years it is pretty clear that their conceptions of Bayazid were coloured by the ridiculous Indian legends concerning him,—unsavory stories showing a strong bias towards Hindu superstitions, and coined by wandering fāqīs in order to invest with a spurious sanctity a cenotaph which they had erected in Bayazid's name at Cātgānī (Chittagong).

² The famous fort on the Ganges, nineteen miles above Benares

³ دعوت ایساہ Vido Qānūn : Islam (Ja'far Sharif and Dr Herklots, 1832) c. XXIX. Shaikh Muhammad wrote a book under the title of *الجواهر الخمس* (Aljawāhira l Khams) "the five jewels". It is divided into five parts —(1) on the worship of God, (2) on the ascetic life, (3) on exorcism, (4) on the recital of God's praises, (5) on the acts of those followers of the true path who have attained to knowledge

⁴ مَدْحُود Vida art. *مَدْحُود* in Sprenger's edition of the *Istilahata-* *Sufiyah*

⁵ MSS. (A) and (B) have a word which looks like *جَلْهَل* (phal) but *بُهْلُل* (Buhlul) is undoubtedly the correct reading

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which he stood to the Shaykh as his disciple made it necessary that he should so follow him.

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Couplet

When the veins of an aged man, in consequence of his abandonment of worldly desires, stand out on his skin

Then it is that he becomes, as it were, a ruler to guide
disciples in the way of righteousness.³

And although he had not so much strength left as enabled him to sit down and rise up⁴ and to move about, and used, in consequence of his feebleness and weakness, to lie all day long in a reclining position, yet no sooner did he hear the call to prayer than he would, without the assistance of anybody, rise

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⁴ The text omits the words وَرَجَسَ (*bar hāṣebān*) "to rise up," as does also MS (B). In inserting them I follow MS (A).

up, put on his shoes, take his staff in his hand, perform his ceremonial ablutions by himself and without any help, and stand up for his prayers.¹ This done he would again recline in his wonted position on his couch. I twice had the honour of attending on him, once in the year H. 969 (A.D. 1561-2), in Āgra, when he had come there to settle the matter of his *aima*² holding in Thānesar³ and to have the subject represented, and again in the year A.H. 981 (A.D. 1573-4) when I was accompanying *Husain Khān* in his pursuit of *Ulugh Mirzā*.⁴ He seemed to me to be a quantity of (divine) light in bodily form. He bade farewell to this transitory world in the year A.H. 989 (A.D. 1581), May God remember him to his good !

III. SHAIKH MUHAMMAD GHAUS OF GWĀLIYĀR.⁵

He was the disciple of Shaikh Zuhūr and Hāji Huzūr, other-

¹ The miraculous part of this fact is that the ceremonial prayers of Muslims contain various genuflexions and prostrations, in addition to the standing position. The ceremonial prayers are recited five times every day. This was no mean performance for an old man of 93 who had no strength to rise or stand on ordinary occasions. If what Badāoni says is true the probability is that Shaikh Jalālu-d-Dīn, finding that the regular ceremonial prayers so exhausted him that he could not undergo any exertion in addition to them, kept his bed except at prayer times, reserving all his strength for his religious exercises.

² Lands held on *aima* tenure were rent-free grants given as *madad-i-ma'āsh*, or subsistence allowance, to deserving individuals. For an account of the troubles that used to befall persons who came to Court on business connected with *aima* holdings vide Badāoni, Vol. II. text pp. 204-5, trans. pp. 207-8.

³ A *mahall* in the *sarkār* of Sarhind, *Shibah* of Dihlī and a place of pilgrimage among the Hindus (*Āin-i-Akbarī* (trans.), Vol. II. 281). It is now a small town in the Ambāla district, Panjāb.

⁴ This happened before Badāoni left the service of *Husain Khān* for the Emperor. *Husain Khān*, nicknamed *Tukriya*, or "the patcher," from his having ordered Hindus, as unbelievers, to wear a patch on their garments near the shoulders, was "the Bayard and the Don Quixote of Akbar's reign" (Blochmann). For accounts of him vide *Āin-i-Akbarī*, Vol. I. (trans. Blochmann), p. 372. He was Badāoni's first patron. *Ulugh Mirzā* (whose name had been changed from Sikandar to *Ulugh* by the Emperor Hūmāyūn) was the elder son of *Ulugh Mirzā*, the eldest son of Muhammad Sultān Mīrzā of the House of Timur. Muhammad Sultān Mīrzā was the great-great-grandson of 'Umar Shaikh Mirzā, the second son of Timur. He was thus a distant cousin of Akbar.

⁵ Gwalior, the famous fortress.

wiso known as Hājī Hamid, and his spiritual descent could be traced back, through the line of the Shaffārī order of ascetics to Shaykh Bayazid of Busṭām,¹ the prince of knowers of God (May God sanctify his soul!) When entering on the religious life he spent twelve years on the lower slopes of the hills of Cansr² and the adjoining country, practising the most severe ansterities, having his dwelling in caves and subsisting on the leaves of trees. He was an acknowledged master in the science of exorcism,³ he possessed supernatral power, and was drawn in a mysterious manner towards God.⁴ He obtained leave to practise this science (*sic!* exorcism) from his elder brother, Shaykh Buhlūl,⁵ who was a worker of miracles and wonders.

¹ Shaykh Bāyazid of Busṭām (a small town in the hills of Tabaristān, between the ancient city of Rāz and Nishapur) was originally named Saifur, and founded the Tasfariyah order of ascetics. He is said to have been born in A.H. 136 (A.D. 753-4) and to have died at Busṭām, the date of his death being variously given as A.H. 231, 234, 261, 262 and 263. One of his "spiritual descendants" was Shaykh 'Abdu'llah; Shaykh was founded the Shaffārī order. He came from Persia to India and died in Malwa, where he is buried, in A.H. 809 (A.D. 1406). Jahangir erected a mausoleum over his tomb in Mandu. The word شفّاری (Shaffārī) is derived from the Arabic root شفّار (Shaf'ara) meaning "he travelled in the direction of". Its meaning as applied to 'Abdu'llah and his followers is "one who enthralls and is quick in attaining nearness to God". In the language of the order علم طارہ (ilm-i-Shaf'arah) means "the working and aspirations of the soul". From the facts of Badoni applying the title Sufiyan to Shaykh Bayazid, and of Shaykh Muhammad a panance of twelve years it is pretty clear that their conceptions of Bayazid were coloured by the ridiculous Indian legends concerning him—unsavoury stories showing a strong bias towards Hindu superstitions, and coined by wandering *fāqīrs* in order to invest with a spurious sanctity a cenotaph which they had erected in Bayazid's name at Catganv (Chittagong).

² The famous fort on the Ganges thirteen miles above Benaras.

³ دعوت اسماً Vide *Qanun-i-Islam* (Ja far Sharif and Dr Herklots, 1832)

⁴ XXIX Shaykh Muhammad wrote a book under the title of الجوهر الخمس (*Al-Jawahiru l-Khaṣṣ*) the five jewels'. It is divided into five parts—(1) on the worship of God (2) on the ascetic life, (3) on exorcism, (4) on the recital of God's praises (5) on the acts of those followers of the true path who have attained to knowledge.

⁵ مسح Vide art. بولل in Sprenger's edition of the *Istilahata-i-Sufiyah*

⁶ MSS. (A) and (B) have a word which looks like بولل (phul) but بولل (Buhlul) is undoubtedly the correct reading.

His late Majesty, the Emperor Humāyūn, on whom God's mercy has descended, had the greatest faith in and attachment to these two saints, so much so that there were very few that ranked with them in his estimation. From these venerable men he learnt the science of exorcism. After the rebellion in India, when Shir
 5. Shāh began to oppress Shaikh Muḥammad, he betook himself to Gujarāt where also he brought princes and rulers under the yoke of subjection to him and¹ belief in his teaching, so that all alike were ready to do him service. Shaikh Wajihu-d-Dīn too, a knower and a² doer of the things that belong to God, a profound thinker and a teacher, drew upon his shoulders the saddle-cloth of obedience to Shaikh Muḥammad. All these things are an indication of the Shaikh's perfections and of his power of working miracles. Many other great and famous holy men in Dihli, Gujarāt, and Bangūl have risen from the fringe of his robe,³ and memorials of his perfection still remain in Hindūstān. One day in the year H. 966 (A.D. 1558-9) I saw him from afar off, riding along in the market place at Āgra, a throng of the common people surrounding and preceding him, so that no one could pass through the crowd. In his courteous humility his head was never for one moment still, as he returned the salutations of the people on either side of him, bowing continually down to his saddle-bow. It was in this year that he came from Gujarāt to Āgra, and with much exhortation and persuasion, availing himself of the influence of those about the Court, enrolled the Emperor Akbar, then a youth, among his disciples, but the Emperor soon rejected his teaching, and since Shaikh Muḥammad's companionship was distasteful to the Khān-i-Khānān, Bairam Khān,⁴ and to Shaikh Gadāī,⁵ he withdrew, ill pleased;

¹ The text omits the words لَعْنَةٍ and after لَعْنَةٍ, although they appear in both MSS.

² The text omits the word لَعْنَةٍ after لَعْنَةٍ, although it appears in both MSS. Shaikh Wajihu-d-Dīn is mentioned in the Tubaqāt-i-Akbarī, vide also Aīn-i-Akbarī I. (trans. Blochmann) *passim* and Akbarnāma (text), III. 63-744.

³ i.e., have "sat at his feet."

⁴ The famous Bairām Khān, Khān-i-Khānān, also entitled Khān Bābā. He was Akbar's atālīq or tutor. He was assassinated by an Afghān named Mubārak on the 14th Jamādī I. A.H. 968 (A.D. 1561).

⁵ Shaikh Gadāī was a Shī'ah who had been appointed Sadr-i-Sudūr on the recommendation of Bairām Khān, whom he had joined in Gujarāt. He

to Gwâlijâr, where he spent his time in perfecting his disciples, and, having built an hospice, occupied himself with the ecstatic dances of *dervishes*,¹ chontâg, and giving way to transports of religious ecstasy.² He himself also wrote books on these subjects. Clad in the garments of poverty he held a high and majestic position, and possessed a subsistence allowance of a *tankâ*.³ Whomsoever he saw, were he a beggar even, he treated with great honour, standing before him. For this reason some few from among those who were vowed to poverty blamed him, and denied (that he was a true ascetic).⁴ But God alone knows what his motives were in this matter.

Couplet

Since God in His omniscience alone knows whether a soul is
to be rejected or accepted,

"Judge not lest thou be judged."⁵

In the year H 970 (A.D. 1562 3), after completing his eightieth

was Sadr till A.H. 969. *Vide Badaoni*, Vol II, text, pp 29 30, trans., pp 22, 23 24. For the disappointment of Shaikh Muhammad Ghans at Court *vide Badaoni*, Vol II, text, pp 31, 35, trans., pp 28, 20.

tâlîs (sama)

zâdâ (rajd)

³ The *tanka* was worth about 4d. Badaoni's statement means that Shaikh Muhammad Ghans had a yearly allowance of £166 000 13s 4d., or its equivalent in land. It is hardly possible that he can have possessed such a grant, either in land or money. Badaoni probably uses the word *zâdâ* indefinitely, to signify "a large sum," or it may be that the *tanka* referred to was the *tanka ya siyah*, a copper coin, worth only $\frac{6}{64}$ of the silver *tanka*, (*vide Badaoni*, Vol I, trans. Ranking, p 87, n 1.) This would bring Shaikh Muhammad's annual allowance to £15,625 sterling, still an incredibly large sum.

⁴ The objection of other "holy men" to the manners of Muhammad Ghans will be understood by those who have any experience of the manners, or rather lack of them, displayed by most "holy men" in India. Affecting complete indifference to all worldly matters, they too frequently attempt to establish a claim to superior sanctity by means of a demeanour of insulting indifference towards all with whom they are brought in contact. Numerous instances of this occur in history, the eccentricities of "holy men" being generally tolerated, just as the quips of professional jesters were formerly tolerated in Europe.

⁵ Literally "Beware of bringing forward the faults of others, for to do so is a fault in thee."

year, he died in Āgra, leaving this world for the next, and was buried in Gwāliyār. He was generous to a degree, and it is said that the word "I" never passed his lips, and that he always referred to himself as "this humble one." So particular was he in this matter that even when giving away corn in charity he would say "*Mīm* and *Nūn*,¹ give this much corn to such an one," in order to avoid the necessity of saying "I." May God shower his mercy plenteously upon him !

IV. SHAIKH BURHĀN.

Burhān was an ascetic of great resignation and piety, and a very prince among those who have chosen a life of religious seclusion and retirement, and of independence of worldly concerns. It is said that he was once for three days in company with Miyān Ilāhdād of Bārī,² of the spiritual line of the famous Mir Sayyid Muḥammad of Jaunpur,³ (may God sanctify his soul), there being only one intermediary between them, and that it was on that occasion that he acquired this excellence, and attained to perfection. He had subjected himself to severe discipline and possessed great self-control. For nearly fifty years (before his death) he had abstained from flesh-meat and from most other articles of food and drink, contenting himself with a little milk and some sweet-meats; and at the end of his life he abstained also from drinking water, so that to outward appearance he was an incorporeal spiritual form, supernaturally illuminated. He had in Kālpī a very small and dark cell in which he constantly

¹ i.e. *م* and *ن*, the letters of which the word *مِنْ* is composed. This practice may appear to be an absurd affectation of humility, but it must be remembered that too free a use of the first person, whether in writing or in conversation is, even at the present day, and among men who lay no special claim to sanctity, considered a breach of etiquette among Orientals.

² There are three places of this name given by Sir W. W. Hunter in his *Imperial Gazetteer of India*. One is a town in Takṣil Sidhāuli, Dist. Sītāpūr, Ondh; another is a village in the Garhwāl State, N.-W. P.; and the third is a town in the Dholpur State, Rājputāna. I cannot identify the Miyān's abode. Bārī was also the name given by Akbar to the Dūāb between the Biyāh and the Rāvī. Four worthies of the name of Ilāhdād are commemorated in this Vol., viz : Nos. XIII, XXXV, LXIII and LXX, ch. ii.

³ At one time the capital of a Muḥammadan kingdom. Now the chief town of the District of the same name in the N.-W. P. Mir Sayyid Muḥammad, the *Mahdavī* will be subsequently referred to.

sat, engaged in reciting God's praises and in meditation and contemplation. He used also to retain his breath,¹ after the fashion of the *Mahdatis*, and although he had never studied any of the sciences treated of in Arabic literature he used to give most eloquent dissertations on the *Qur'an*. He was a reader of the secrets of human hearts. When I was returning from Canār (Chunār) in A.H. 967 (A.D. 1559-60) during the rule of 'Abdu'l-lāh Khān the Üzbak² I spent a night in attendance on the *Shaikh*, whose conversation was sublime. He recited, appositely to the occasion, some of his own Hindi poetry of which the subjects were exhortation, admonition, mysticism,³ the longing of the human soul for God,⁴ the Unity of God, and withdrawal from the world. The next day Mīr 'Ali Sildūz,⁵ who, in spite of his friendship towards holy men, was to some extent a slave to his own Turkish nature, and was something of a bully and a tyrant,

[I have been the slave of that man of perfect nature, from the day on which he said,
"The Turk, though he become a *mulla*, can never become a man."]

was honoured, by means of an introduction from me, with an interview with the *Shaikh*. Now it so happened that about an

1 پاس افلاس (pās-i-anfās) lit. "guarding, or holding, the inspirations and respirations." *Hindūstans* بُلْجَرْ مَد (buljor mad) and بُلْسَادْ مَد (bulsaad mad) (*dam barhanā*) and *بُلْسَادْ مَد* (*dam sadhna*). A practice borrowed from Hindu ascetics.

2 Vido Am-i Akbari, Vol. I, (trans. Blochmann), pp. 320-1. He was a noble of Humāyūn's Court. Having been by Akbar appointed to the government of Makrīn, he re-conquered that province and resigned in Mīrdu'l-kāning, whence the expression in the text. Akbar moved against him and he fled. After many wanderings and vicissitudes he made his way to Jaunpur, where he died a natural death during the rebellion of Khan-i-Zuman (A.H. 974 = A.D. 1567).

3 تصور (tasawwuf) the mysticism of the Sufis.

4 غُوق (gauq) Vido Iṣṭilahatu's Safiyyah (Dr Sprnger, 1845), p. 162

5 In the previous year (A.H. 966 = A.D. 1558-9) Mīr 'Ali Khan belduz had been sent to Canār to treat with Jamal Khan, the Afghan commandant, who wished to hand over the fort to the Mughals for a consideration. Jamal Khan, however, did not deem Akbar's offer of five parganas near Jumprū sufficient and the negotiations fell through, whereupon Mīr 'Ali returned to Āgra with Bidioti who had accompanied him to Canār. Mīr 'Ali who

hour before this time he had severely beaten and kicked some of his servants and attendants, and had abused them in most unbecoming language before mounting his horse to go for a ride. When we sat down together the first words the Shaikh uttered were, "The prophet (may God bless and save him!) said, 'The (true) Muslim is he who (courteously) salutes (other) Muslims both with his hand and with his tongue.'" The Shaikh uttered this precious aphorism and sublime truth with special reference to the occasion, and Mihr 'Ali rose to his feet for the purpose of excusing himself, and, after expressing his contrition and shame he begged the Shaikh to recite the *fatiḥah*¹ on his behalf, offering to him, at the same time, something by way of a present, which was not accepted.

The Shaikh reached the age of nearly one hundred years and departed this life in the year A.H. 970 (A.D. 1562-3). I have made the following chronogram on his death:—

My heart said he was the chief of Saints.²

In accordance with the terms of his will he was buried in the cell to which he had retired—may God shed light upon his resting-place!

V. SHAIKH MUHAMMAD-I-KAMBŪ,³ OF SAMBHĀL.

He belonged to the *Qādirī*⁴ order. On first entering the religious life he subjected himself to a most rigorous discipline. He was a man who was mysteriously drawn towards God⁵ and was subject to fits of religious ecstasy. He had a sweet voice and when he was in one of his fits of ecstasy he would chant so

was at this time a *Beg* was afterwards created Khan and Governor of Cītōr (Chitor). For an account of Mihr 'Alī's mission *vide* *Bādāoni*, Vol. II., text, pp. 32-34; trans., pp. 26-28. Mihr 'Alī had evidently a great regard for *Bādāoni*. *Sildūz* is the name of a Caghatai clan.

¹ The opening chapter of the *Qur'ān*. Its recital, in combination with a gift made to a holy man, forms an offering to God.

² شیخ اولیا بود giving $300 + 10 + 600 + 1 + 6 + 30 + 10 + 1 + 2 + 6 + 4 = 970$.

³ The name of a tribe to which the famous *Shahbāz Khan*, Commander of two thousand in Akbar's reign, belonged. *Vide* *Aīn-i-Akbarī*, Vol. I (trans. Blochmann), pp. 399-402.

⁴ A religious order founded by Shaikh Muhiyyu-'d-din 'Abdu-'l-Qādir-i-Jilī, a Sayyid of the race of Husain. *Jil* is a village near *Baghdād*. *Vide* *Aīn-i-Akbarī*, text II., 212.

⁵ ذوق (*zaug*) *vide* *Iftilāḥatu'-ṣ-Sūfiyyah* (Sprenger) *sub voce*.

sweetly as to touch the hearts of all who heard him; the flavour of that ecstatic song still lingers on the palate of my soul. In his earlier years he acquired exoteric knowledge and was engaged in teaching. He had an ardent love for such forms as display, in their beauty, the power of the Creator, nor was he ever at any time free from the bonds of that love which is transferred from the Creator to the creature,¹ and when in these bonds he lost all self-control, and, putting aside all dissimulation and restraint took no account of the praise or blame of others, careless alike of their disapprobation and their approval. For this reason was he known as Shaykh Muhammadi-'Ashiq, or "the lover." In A.H. 985 (A.D. 1579) he transferred the baggage of his existence to that land where the soul is united to God.² The words "the sixth of Shawwal"³ give the date of his death. May God make his soul fragrant!

VI. شاھ فابرۇ-د-دین.

He was an old man in whom shone the Divine Light, ascetic in his habits, having complete trust in God, and uncontrollable religious enthusiasm. He lived a retired and solitary life, keeping the door of ingress and egress shut to himself. Every Friday

¹ عشق مجازی ('ishq-i-majazi). This Sufi-istic expression requires some explanation. مجازی is an adjective formed from the Arabic word مجاز which means literally "a thing transferred from one place to another," and hence "a metaphor," or "trope." It was a belief among the *Sufis* that the love of a creature for the Creator, a love which they named عشق ('ishq), might be manifested in that creature's love for other creatures. The word عشق means "sexual love," and was no doubt originally used by pious *Sufis* to denote the love of a creature for the Creator in consequence of the ecstatic nature of that love. Setting aside the profanity of placing love for God, and a passion (not necessarily love) for a creature on the same, or nearly the same footing, it may easily be conceived that the idea that the latter differed but slightly in merit from the former furnished an excuse for the vilest sensuality, the nature of which need not be touched upon here.

² The expression used here (دارالوعلاء—daru'l-walā) is a further reference to the Sufi-istic notion described in note 1. The mention of 'blame' and 'disapprobation' is sufficient to indicate the nature of Muhammad Kambū's "love" for the creature.

³ ششم از شوال (shaykh az Shawwal), giving $300+300+40+1+7+300+6+1+30=985$. This is a neat chronogram the words themselves giving the day of the month and the letters of which they are composed the year in

again¹ to his door and would sit in silence, nor would this slighting treatment produce on the clear mirror of his heart, which reflected the hidden knowledge of God, the rust of resentment. He would thus sit until the person to whom the intercession was to be made fell, shamed and remorseful, at his feet, and promptly and obediently fulfilled the desire of the beggar.

One day the Shaikh was present at a meeting of the mystics engaged in ecstatic songs and dances, as their custom is,² held by that prince of holy men Shaikh Nizām-i-Auliya, (may God sanctify his most pure tomb !), when a wretched maniac, uttering a yell, seized the Shaikh by the knees, and, lifting him up, turned him heels over head on the floor, so that his turban was disarranged, and he was hurt, but in outward appearance³ he was in no way disturbed. At the time this act of the maniac was attributed to religious ecstasy and he was held to be excused, but the demented fool repeated his abominable trick on a subsequent occasion, when the magistrate of the city proposed to recall his scattered senses by means of a severe caution, a beating, and threats of what would happen to him in the future. The Shaikh made much intercession for him, and, kissing his hands and feet, kept him under his own protection, and did not suffer them to molest him in any way. In exoteric knowledge he was perfect himself,⁴ and used to perfect

¹ The text inserts here the words بدر بار او (*bi-darbār-i-ñ*) "to his levee," which occur in neither MS., and are clearly an interpolation. They convey a wrong impression, for the context shews us that the Shaikh sat at the door of the oppressor. If he had gone to his levee he would at least have had an opportunity of speaking to him, which we are told he had not, until the oppressor, hearing of the Shaikh's continued attendance, felt compunction.

² This passage, and the fact mentioned in it, that the maniac's rude practical joke was attributed to religious ecstasy, give us some insight into the nature of the religious exercises of the *Sufis*.

³ The word here used is بشر (*basharah*) the primary meaning of which is "the external skin," "the cuticle; or epidermis." It also means (vide Lane "Arabic Lexicon," *sub voce*) "the complexien." The meaning of the passage is clear. The Shaikh did not even change colour.

⁴ مکمل بود - مکمل. This passage may also be translated "In exoteric knowledge he was a perfect man made perfect," if we mark the last syllable of مکمل with ت. I prefer to mark it with ك, and translate it as above, for the mention of the Shaikh's teaching, immediately following this sentence, seems to me to indicate that مکمل is to be taken as an active and

others, and he used to instruct his pupils in the expounding of the 'Arā'is,¹ and of the 'Aicārif² and of the *Fusūsu'l-Hikam*³ and its commentary. He was also the author of some well known works, among them being the *Risāla yi-'Aimiyyah* written as a reply to the *Ghairiyah*⁴ of Shuhūt Man of Panipat. Many obscure questions relating to the unity of essence⁵ are therein treated of,⁶ in accordance with the interpretation of perfect knowers of God.⁷

not as a passive particle. No disceptical point is given, either in the text or in the MSS.

1 There are five well known works having the word عَرَائِسُ ('ara'is) as part of their title. The work here mentioned is without any doubt the 'Arā'is *l-Bayan* ('Brides of explanation') by Shāikh Abu Muhammād Ruzbihān ibn Abī'l-nasrī'l-Baqilī of Shīraz, the *Sufi* (died A.H. 606=A.D. 1209-10). This book is a commentary on the *Qur'an*, from the point of view of the *Sufis* (Haji Khalifa IV 105).

2 The work here referred to is the 'Aicārif *l-Ma'rif*—“bounty (in diffusing) the knowledge of God”—, a book on the mysticism of the *Sufis*, written by Shāikh Shihābāt-din Abu Hafs 'Umar ibn Mūhammad ibn 'Abdī Iltūl Sahravardī, who died in A.H. 632 (A.D. 1234-35) (Haji Khalifa IV 275).

3 The *Fusūsu'l-Hikam*, (articulations of the sciences), is a work by Muhyīyū'd-din Abu 'Abdī'l-lāh Muhammād ibn 'Alī, known as Ibn 'Arabīyī 't-Tā'i Matīmī'l-Andalūsī (died A.H. 638=A.D. 1240-41). The book is divided into twenty seven “articulations” or “joints” each containing the wise sayings of some prophet or sage, commencing with Adam, and going on to Shāth (Seth) Nuh (Noah) Idrīs (Enoch) Ibrāhīm (Abraham), Isḥāq (Isaac) and others. The (reputed) sayings of our Saviour appear in the sixteenth “articulation” (Haji Khalifa IV 425 et seqq.)

4 I cannot find any mention of these treatises elsewhere, but it is clear that they were polemical works on the theology, or rather mysticism of the *Sufis*.

5 I.e., the essential unity of all things. The doctrine of the *Sufis* on this point is practically pantheism. ‘All things being of God it follows that there is nothing that is not a portion of God’—is their argument. Some have followed this argument to its logical conclusion by declaring that they themselves are God.

6 In this place the text inserts the particle *و* (*w*) ‘and’. The word *is* found in neither of the MSS and destroys the sense.

7 The expression here used is سُلْطَانُ الْعَالَمِ (arbab-i-shuhud) or “lords of (i.e. they who have experienced) ocular perception of God”. This is a *Sufi*-istic term the meaning of which is sufficiently well represented by the translation. Vide *Istilahatu's-Safīyyah sub voce سُلْطَان*.

At the time of the Khān-i-Khānān's disgrace,¹ and also for some years afterwards, I studied under that master of perfection, and listened to the recital of several books and treatises on mysticism,² and digested their contents—praise be to God. In the year H. 975 (A.D. 1567–68) the falcon of his soul winged its flight to the pinnacle of eternity, and the words “the pole-star of the path is gone,”³ were found to give the date of his death. He always wrote himself in his treatises, writings, and letters “the worthless atom,” and it was found that the words “the worthless atom”⁴ also gave the date of his death.

VIII. SHAIKH SALIM-I-CISHTI.⁵

He was one of the descendants of the venerable Shaikh Farid-i-

¹ A.H. 967 (A.D. 1559–60) *vide* Badāoni II (text), pp. 35 *et seqq.*

² تصوّف (*taṣawwuf*) the mysticism of the *Sūfīs*.

³ قطب طریقت نہاند 100+9+2+9+200+10+100+400+50+40+1+50+4=975.

⁴ Not quite exactly. ناجیہ ناچیہ ذرۃ give 700+200+5+50+1+3+10+7=976 *vide* Badāoni II. text, pp. 105–106.

⁵ Shaikh Salim-i-Cishtī was highly honoured by Akbar. When the emperor desired a son he had recourse, by the advice of his courtiers, to Shaikh Salim, who assured him that his prayers would be answered. Akbar promised to place the son, when he should be born, under the tutorship of Shaikh Salim; and the Shaikh stipulated that he should be named after him. This was agreed to. When Jodh Bāī, the Jodhpūr princess who was married to Akbar, became pregnant, she was sent, when the time of her confinement drew near, to Shaikh Salim's house, where she was delivered of a son, who in accordance with the Shaikh's stipulation was named Sultān Salim, and who afterwards succeeded to the throne as the Emperor Jahāngīr. In gratitude for the gift of a son Akbar performed a pilgrimage on foot to the tomb of Khāja Mu'inu'd-Dīn Cishtī in Ajmīr, distant rather more than 200 miles from Āgra. He travelled twelve *kurūh* or *kos* a day, reaching Ajmīr on the 17th day after leaving Āgra, (he must have rested several days on the way). Jahāngīr says that he never heard his father, drunk or sober, call him either Muhammad Salim or Sultān Salim, but that he always called him Shaikhū Bābā (in honour of the Shaikh). Shaikh Salim lived at Sikrī, a village twelve *kurūh* distant from Āgra. The birth of Jahāngīr at Sikrī under these circumstances caused Akbar to believe that the place was a particularly fortunate one for him, and led to the founding of the town of Fathpūr Sikrī, afterwards the favourite residence of Akbar (*Aīn-i-Akbarī*, Vol. I. *passim*, *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, 'Alīgarh edition, p. 1 and preface, pp. 2–5; also Badaoni, text II. 108, 109). Jahāngīr gives the distance from Āgra to Ajmīr as 140 *kurūh*.

Shakarganj¹ (may God sanctify his soul), and his native place was Dihli He stood in the relation of a disciple to Khājah Ibrahim (who was spiritually descended through five intermediaries from the most bountiful Khāja, the ascetic Fuzail Ibn 'Iyāz²—may the mercy of God be upon him!) through whose instrumentality also he was first turned towards God He twice travelled by land and sea from Indir to the two most holy places of pilgrimage,³ there to perform the duties of the pilgrimage⁴ He set

1 One of the most famous and popular of Indian saints possessing conotaph shrines in various places in Hindostan and the Dakhan His father, Kamalū 'd Bin Sulaimān, was a descendant of Farrukh Shah, ruler of Kābul He was born in A H 584 (A D 1188) "in the Qaqbah (pargana town) of Khotwal," near Multan whether his father had come from Kabul, and where he had married By the advice of his spiritual guide (Khāja Qatḥu 'd Bin Bakhtiyar i Kukhī), he went through the ordinary course of studies, ⁵ for a devotee without learning is the Devil's jestor He studied for five years in Qandahar, and then went to Dihli to see Qatḥu 'd Dīn There he remained as his disciple until his fame was so much noised abroad that he was pestered by the numbers of people who came to see him, when he retired to Hansi On Qatḥu 'd Dīn's death Faridu 'd Dīn came to Dihli to succeed him, again retiring to Hansi at the earnest request of the people of that place and in search of peace Being still annoyed by visitors at Hansi he made Shaikh Jamālū 'd Bin of that place his deputy there, and set out in search of some secluded spot, at last selecting as his residence Ajndhan since called Patten of Shaikh Farid, or Psk Patten There he lived and married and had a family His principal troubles there were due to the jealousy of the local Qazi For the various stories accounting for his name of Shakarganj or Ganj + Shakar (treasure house of sweets) vide Faṣīḥa Bombay text Vol II in the account of his life, also Ain-i Akbari (trans Jarrett) III 363, 364 note Faṣīḥa gives the date of his doth as A H 760 (A D 1358), a manifest error as his age is given as 95, which would make the year of his death A H 679 (A D 1280)

2 Al Fuṣail Ibn 'Iyāz-i-t Talakan A famous ascetic, born at either Abiward or Samarcand He was called Al Talakan from the town of Talakan in Khurasān He began life as a highway robber but was miraculously converted to God He died at Makkah in the month of Muharram A H 187 (Jan A D 803) Vide Ibn Khallikan (traos de Slane) II 478-480 Fuṣail's name is given in the text as Fazl though both MSS have Fuṣail

3 حرمین الشریفین (Haramain 'th sharifain) i.e., Makkah and Madinah

4 طواف (ta'waf) circumambulation Although the word is used here in connection with both Makkah and Madinah the only circumambulation enjoined (Qur'an xxxii 27) is that of the Ka'bah at Makkah, which is performed seven times The ceremony is, however, commonly performed by Indian Muslims, at any rate, at any holy place, such as the grave of a Shaikh

forth on his travels, journeying to Asia Minor, Baghdād, Syria, Najaf,¹ (that holy spot), and other countries of the western regions, spending the whole year in travelling, returning to the glorious city of Makkah at the time of the pilgrimage, and then again setting out on his travels. In this manner he performed the pilgrimage twenty-two times, fourteen times during his first period of absence from India, and eight times during his second period of absence. On this latter occasion he spent four years in the glorious city of Makkah and four years in the delightful city of Madinah, and during his sojourn in Makkah he used to spend the period during which Muḥammad's birthday occurred in Madinah, and the period of the pilgrimage at Makkah. Shaikh Ya'qūb of Kashmīr who accompanied Shaikh Salim gave the date of his latter visit to Makkah in the following couplets :—

Thanks be to God, of whose mere bounty
The holy region became our halting-place.
If any one ask the date of this event
We answer him, " We entered the holy region." ²

And in that country he was known as Shaikh-*l-Hind*, or the holy man of India. He reached the age of ninety-five and travelled always in the path of the holy law delivered by the prophet (may God bless and save him !), always observing the most severe austerities and the most austere discipline, to a degree which can have been attained by but few of the holy men of this age. He observed, as a religious duty, the ceremonial purification and bathing before each of the five daily recitals of prayers, nor did he omit this duty before the weekly public prayers.

2. When Shaikh Mān of Pānipat, (may God sanctify his tomb !), enjoyed companionship with Shaikh Salim he put to him this question :—" Was it induction or revelation that was the means of your attaining to your goal ? " Shaikh Salim replied, " Our means is ' heart to heart.' "³ Very many holy men who have

¹ Najaf, or Mashhad 'Alī, (the shrine of 'Alī) a town in 'Iraq-i-'Arab, on the Bahr-i-Najaf (Lake of Najaf) and near the ruins of Kūfa. Here 'Alī, the nephew and son-in-law of Muḥammad, is buried.

² مُحَمَّدٌ أَخْلَقَ إِلَيْهِ giving $4+600+30+50+1+1+30+8+200+40=964$.

The method of the Sūfīs. They are "the elect," those to whom God more especially reveals Himself, drawing them to Himself with mysterious

reached perfection received then training in his service and companionship, and became his deputies and successors. Among them was the Shaikh¹ who after being perfected received authority to impart religious instruction to other disciples, and whose history is wellknown. Another was Shaikh Kamal of Alwar, an old man inflamed and enwrapped with zeal, resembling in disposition the leaders among holy men. Another was Shaikh Piyara of Bangal, a man distracted with the grief of longing after God. His fame is great in the country of Bangal.² Another was Shaikh Fathn-llah Tain of Sambhal. Another was Shaikh Ruknn'd din of Ajudhan,³ and another was Hosain tho Khādim, who was the best of Shaikh Salim's deputies, and the midmost pearl in the string (of his disciples). He was the chief decider of abstracto questions in the hospice at Fatehpur. When Shaikh Salim returned a second time to India the writer of these lines heard that he had attained to an extensive knowledge of, and pre eminent proficiency in the Arabic language. I therefore sent him a letter containing two chronograms⁴ of his two auspicious arrivals, which have been mentioned above. A verbatim copy of the letter is set forth below.

bonds, and inflaming their hearts with an ardent love for Him. Vide my note on their doctrines *supra*

1 The name of this Shaikh is not given either in MS (A) or in MS (B). The general sense of the passage indicates that the name has been omitted probably by a copyist's error. As the passage stands it is impossible to identify the Shaikh.

2 دلار بانگل 'The original name of Bengal was Bang' *Ain-i-Albari* text I 388

3 Or Pattan where is the tomb of Shaikh Farid d din Shakarganj vide supra p 19 n 1

4 For the two chronograms here referred to, vide Radson's II (text) p 73. I feel bound to remark here in order to save readers who cannot avail themselves of the original text some perplexity that the passage just referred to has been completely mistranslated by Mr Lowe. His translation makes Shaikh Salim write an Arabic letter to Badaoni whereas it was Badaoni that wrote this Arabic letter to Shaikh Salim. These remarks are I regret to say, absolutely necessary as the passage in vol II referred to contains a reference to the Arabic letter here translated a reference which must necessarily be unintelligible to readers who are bound to rely on the translation, and who cannot be expected to study closely the long list of *errata* at the end of the volume.

Copy of the Arabic Letter written by the Author to Shaikh Salīm-i-Ciṣṭī.

Verily the religion which is approved by God is Islām.

Verse.

Salutations to those who walk round the *Ka'bah*,
 By the circumambulation of which the pilgrimage of noble
 men is consummated,
 Salutations to those who dwell in a place,
 In which he who surpassed all men lodgeth.¹

I present the duties of prayers, the breezes of the sweet odours
 13. of which perfume the cells of the gathering places of holiness,
 and I send pages of greetings, the sweet odours of the waftings
 of which scent the meetings of the caravans of kindly fellowship.
 (These I send) to that high presence and to that exalted throne,
 the place of prostration for the foreheads of the great kings of
 the age—the spot to be kissed by the lips of the emperors of the
 cycle—the titles of which the imagination cannot comprehend by
 its intelligence, before the door of which titles are cast down—
 the high presence of the sun, which stands in need of neither
 praise nor description—that is, to the presence of the pattern for
 men, of him who is followed at this time, the *Shaikhu-l-Islām*,
 may his shadow be ever extended over the heads of all creatures
 in general, and over the foreheads of the bands of feeble seekers
 after knowledge in particular. And since they (*scil.* my prayers
 and greetings) spring from sincerity of intention and proceed
 from singleness of heart, I hope that they will meet with the
 honour of acceptance, and the attainment of everything that is
 hoped for and prayed for is from God. After the performance of

¹ In both MSS. and in the text the second hemistichs of these two couplets are transposed, *i.e.*, the second hemistich of the first couplet appears as the second hemistich of the second couplet and *vice versa*. Both the sense and the grammar shew that this transposition has been made. I have restored the hemistichs to their proper places. The translation of this letter will appear very stilted, but, the substance being worthless, I have judged it best to make the translation as literal as possible, for the letter itself has no place in this history except as an example of the author's Arabic style, with which he, at any rate, seems to have been well pleased.

what is incumbent on the neck of one of your slaves¹ and on the conscience of my soul may it become clear to your enlightened mind, the mirror of what is hidden, aye, to your great heart, the mirror of certainty, that not the half of a line of the hardship of separation from you and of the violence of the pain of longing after you can be contained in vessels of letters,² should all the trees in the earth become pens, and should the sea (become ink) with seven more seas³ to swell its tide, in the passage of time and its changes And the heart is the most faithful witness, as is well affirmed

Verse

“God knows that my soul has perished

“With desire of thee, but thou ravest it,⁴

“And a sight of thee, Oh, object of my desire, and my hope!

“Is more pleasant to me than the world and all that it contains”

And your slave, distracted with love, has striven with an utter striving and has endeavoured with a supreme effort to obtain the

¹ The text has الرقية MS (A) has الورقة which makes better sense and which is the reading adopted by me

² طروق الحروف ; e., in the vessels (or receptacles) of letters of the alphabet The simile is clear

³ This text from the Quran (xxxi 26) is not quite fully quoted The text runs —

وَلَوْاَنَّ مَا فِي الْأَرْضِ مِنْ شَيْءٍ أَقْلَمُ وَالنَّهُ أَعْلَمُ مِنْ نَعْدَةِ سَبَعَةِ سَمَاءٍ
أَتَسْجُرُ مَا يَعْدَتْ كَلِمَاتُ اللَّهِ إِنَّ اللَّهَ عَزِيزٌ حَكِيمٌ

“Even though all the trees on the earth should become pens, and the sea (ink) with seven more seas to swell its tide, the words of God would not be spent; verily God is mighty, wise!”

The misapplication of it is apparent Badaoni substitutes for “the words of God” the affection which he bears to the *Shaykh* This savours somewhat of irreverence, and reminds us of the way in which Scripture was quoted in the days of Praise-God Barebone

⁴ This Hemistich appears, both in the text, and in the two MSS in the following form —

شوقاً لك ولكن إمعنا

The hemistich, thus written will neither scan nor make sense The text has

felicity¹ of enjoying your noble company, and of hearing some of your polished discourse, but Fate assists not my designs, and ascent to the heaven of eminence is no easy matter.

Verse.

It is not everything that man desires that he obtains,
The wind blows in the direction which the ships do not desire.

14. In spite of this my reliance on the noble beneficence² of God is firm, and my hope in His gracious and boundless favours is sincere, (my hope being) that my eye may be suffused with light by the sight of your beauty, even as my heart is filled with the contemplation of the idea of you. Verily, God answereth our prayers and doth not disappoint us.

Verse.

I place my hope in God for the attainment of gifts,
And my Lord is the giver of what his slave desires.

And it is not far from your wonderful beneficence that you should give me to read an odour-diffusing epistle and send for me with a kind invitation. It is not fitting that the footsteps of my pen should wander more than this over the carpet of familiarity, and that the dove of composition should (any longer) sing on the branch of the tree of glee, and it is best to stop short at this period, and most meet and fitting to curtail (my letter) at the point of prayer (for you). May your exalted nature not cease

a footnote :—“Sic in all three copies; a word has evidently been omitted here.”

Mr. R. F. Azoo, Arabic Instructor to the Board of Examiners, informs me that these lines are a quotation, though he cannot remember from where, and that the correct reading of this hemistich is :—

شوقاً اليك ولكن انت تحبها

I have therefore adopted this reading, and have translated accordingly.

¹ The text has بخطى, a misprint for بخطى.

² The text and MSS. have الکرام الا لهيّه which does not make sense. We, should read اكرام - الکرام (akrām) is a word not known in Arabic, but in Indian Arabic it is used as the plural of كرم (karam), and, as Badāoni's letter is distinctly Indian Arabic, it is permissible to adopt this reading.

to be protected from the casualties of ill-hap, and secured from the lightning-like mishaps of night and day.

Verse.

May you last as long as time, O refuge of the people of the time!

This is the prayer of all creatures

May God answer the prayer of his servant, by the right of him after whom there comes no one¹!

This letter was dated in the course of the years mentioned above When I paid my respects to the Shaikh in the year H 976 (A.D. 1568-69) having been introduced by Shaikh A'zam of Badāon, who was both son-in-law and cousin to Shaikh Salim, he asked me "How has the position of the tomb of the prophet² (may God bless and save him) been determined in the books of 'the sayings' with regard to the tombs of the two Shaikhs? "

¹ The text rightly reads نَبِيٌّ instead of the نَبِيٍّ of the MSS. "He after whom there comes no one" is Muhammad, "the last of the prophets" or the "seal of the prophets" Muhammad said of himself لَا يَسْكُنْ بَعْدِي "There is no prophet after me"

² رسالت رسالت, "the resort of apostleship" The word used here is a compound adjective formed from this expression and is impossible of translation I have translated the word مَوْضِع (*Surat*) "form," by the word "position," for that word best conveys the true meaning of the passage *Vide* next note

³ The two Shaikhs are Ahu Bakr and 'Umar, who are buried, in graves adjoining Muhammad's, within the precincts of the *Masjidu 'n Nabawi*, or "the prophet's mosque" at Madinah The three tombs are, or are supposed to be within the *hujrah* (chamber), so called because it was the room of 'Ayshah Muhammad's favourite wife The *hujrah* is "separated on all sides from the walls of the mosque by a passage about 26 ft broad on the south side, and 20 on the eastern The reason of this isolation has been before explained, and there is a saying of Muhammad's, 'O Allah! cause not my tomb to become an object of idolatrous adoration! May Allah's wrath fall heavy upon the people who make the tombs of their prophets places of prayer!' Inside there are, or are supposed to be, three tombs facing the south, surrounded by stone walls without any aperture or, as others say, by strong planking Whatever this material may be it is hung outside with a curtain, somewhat like a large "four post bed" (*Vide* Burton's "Pilgrimage to El Medinah and Meccah, ed. 1855 II c. xvi)" The question put by Shaikh Salim to Badāon was put, no doubt with a view to testing the visitor's

(may God regard them both with favour !)" I said "In such a way, and others have said 'in such another way.'" He said, "Sahrawardī, in the 'Wāqi'a-yi-Sā'iqa,'¹ where he verifies the forms of the three tombs, gives preference to the former statement of the case." In accordance with the Shaikh's exalted command I remained for two days with Shaikh A'zam, who has been already mentioned, in a cell in the old hospice, and enjoyed detailed conversations with the Shaikh. Then I obtained leave to depart for Basāwar.² Subsequently, in the year H. 978 (A.D. 1570-71) I repeatedly had the honour of paying my respects to the Shaikh, and one of his extraordinary acts³ which I observed was that in the cold wintry air of the highlands of Fathpūr he never wore anything on the upper part of his body but a shirt of a single thickness of fine cotton cloth,⁴ woven thin, and an upper garment of muslin,⁵ and this in spite of the duty that he imposed upon himself of bathing twice daily. His daily food in the

knowledge of controversial works. There are few more fruitful subjects of controversy among Muslims than the relative positions of the tombs of Muḥammad, Abū Bakr and 'Umar. This is necessarily so, as the question is utterly indeterminable, unless the *ḥujrah* should be violated, an act of which no Muslim would be capable. The utility of the controversy is not apparent. From what Muḥammad himself is reported to have said (*vide suprāz*) it was clearly his wish that his tomb should be ignored. Such a wish is little likely to be respected by Indian Muslims, who are only too ready to perform the ceremony of *tawāf*, which should be restricted to the *Ka'bah*, at the shrine of any petty saint. *Vide* Burton's strictures on the conduct of Indian pilgrims at Makkah and Madinah, *passim*.

¹ This work is not mentioned by Ḥajī Khalīfah. It was possibly a controversial work on the unedifying subject mentioned in the last note.

² The text has يساعر with a footnote variant, بشاور. MS. (A) has بشاور and MS. (B), which last is the reading that I have adopted.

³ خوارق "miracles." There are, *pace* Badāoni, no "highlands" (کوہ) in Fathpur Sikri, and it is not surprising that a man who had travelled for years in colder countries than India, undergoing the hardships which were, in those days, inseparable from travel (السفر سفر), should have felt the cold, even in the cold weather, at Fathpur Sikri, very much less than stay-at-home Indians did.

⁴ خاص (Khāṣṣah), fine cotton cloth of a close texture. Its price in the reign of Akbar was from three rupees to fifteen muhrs per piece (۱۵۰ 'adad). *Vide* Āīn-i-Akbarī text. I. 108.

⁵ ململ. Price Rs. 4 (otherwise, from Rs. 4 to five muhrs) per piece (*ibid.*).

quadragesimal fasts of union with God¹ was half a water-melon, or even less than that. He passed away to the next world in the year H 979 (A.D. 1571-72) and the words "the Indian Shaikh"² were found to give the date of his death.

IX SHAIKH NIZĀMU'D DIN OF AMBETHI

Ambethi is the chief village of a pargana in the District of Lakhnau.³ Shaikh Nizām was the disciple and pupil of Shaikh Ma'rūf-i-Cishti, the line of whose spiritual descent goes back to Shaikh Nūr Quṭh-i-'Ālam. He followed the ordinary rule of life (of an orthodox Muslim) but was at the same time drawn towards God in a mysterious manner.⁴ Although he was at first one of the students of remunerative branches of knowledge,⁵ his exalted disposition yet led him to turn much towards the things of the next world. His eyes were ever fixed on the pīrī and his heart fixed on God, nor was he neglectful of the service of *zīhr*,⁶ and the employment of the soul (in God's service).

¹ Special fasts observed by devotees, vide note on *عکسی*, *supra*. The only fast incumbent on all Muslims is the fast of *Ramazan*, lasting for one lunar month.

² شیخ هندی, giving $300 + 10 + 600 + 5 + 50 + 4 + 10 = 979$

³ Vide *Dīn-i-Akbari* (text) I 438, where the name is spelt اینٹھی (Abethi)

⁴ سلوک وحدتہ باہم داشت means an intense longing after God, the result of special attraction exercised by God over the subject of the sensation. Here the rule of life of a *Sufi* (or rather the absence of any such rule) is in strikingly contrasted with the rule binding on an orthodox Muslim. The *Sufi* considers himself above all ceremonial rules, and may observe them or not, as he likes. If he does observe them it is more for the benefit of the weaker brethren, the followers of the "holy law," than for any advantage that might accrue to himself from such observance. He is "one with God," "converted," "saved," and nothing he does or leaves undone can possibly affect him.

⁵ علوم مکتبیة, the branches of knowledge by means of which one gains a livelihood.

⁶ دکر, "remembrance" and "recital." A form of religious exercise adopted by dervishes. It may be a physical as well as a mental exercise, being the recital of God's praises, attributes, etc., either with the tongue of the flesh, (دکر حلقی) or with the "tongue of the heart" (دکر خفی), a detailed account of the various forms of the exercise will be found in Hughes' "Dictionary of Islam" (ed. 1885) pp. 703 et seqq.

Couplet.

Not for one moment do I turn my attention from that moon,¹
I fear lest it should glance towards me and I should not be
on the watch.

In a short time he obtained from his spiritual guide permission to impart religious instruction and to perfect disciples, and in the village of Ambethi drew his foot within the skirt of contentment and withheld his footsteps from the doors of high and low, going nowhere except to the principal *masjid* of the Living God (in that place) and sometimes to Khairābād² to walk round the illustrious tomb of the venerable Shaikh Sa'd, (may his tomb be sanctified !) and to see Shaikh-'l-Hidayah,³ the successor of Shaikh Sūfi, (may God sanctify his most pure tomb !), or to Gopāmau, in consequence of the friendship which he had for Qāzī Mubārak of Gopāmau⁴ who was one of his faithful disciples, a master of perfection, skilled in the holy law, and abstinent, and a very wealthy man. The Shaikh in the early days of his student life had first been attracted to God in the hospice of the Qāzī's father. At long intervals he would take the trouble to go to Fathpur, by way of making a tour, to see Shaikh 'Abdu-'l-Ghani,⁵ who also was one of the greatest among famous elders, and was held in the highest respect. Whenever he visited the hospice of Shaikh-'l-Hidayah and the other places he would give of his worldly goods a rupee, a *tanka*, or some other offering, in accordance with the saying "Send presents to each other and you will love each other,"⁶ and

¹ The word "moon" is generally used in Persian poetry as a synonym for "the beloved one," the object of the lover's devotion. Here, in *Sufi*-istic style, it is used for God, as the Beloved of the mystic.

² The chief town of a *sarkār* of the same name in the *Sūba* of Awadh (Oudh). It is near the present military cantonment at Sītāpūr. *Vide Āīn-i-Akbarī* text, I. 437. Also Hunter's Gazetteer, VIII. 128. It will be observed that Shaikh Nizāmu'-d-dīn used to circumambulate Shaikh Sa'd's tomb, a ceremony which should be confined to the *Ka'bah* at Makkah. This circumambulation of the tombs of saints has probably been borrowed, like some other customs, by Indian Muslims from the Hindus.

³ *Vide infrā*, No. XIV.

⁴ *Vide infrā*, Chapter II, No. XLVII.

⁵ *Vide* Chapter II, No. XXXII.

⁶ The text has *لَيْلَةٍ* for *لَيْلَاتٍ*, in spite of the clear reading of both MSS. But the reading of the text seems, nevertheless, to be correct.

then would fall into an ecstasy of delight. I have heard that he once snatched the book "Ihsusu 'l-Hikam"¹ from the hand of Shaikh Abu'l-Fath, the son of Shihabu'l-Hidayah, who is now his great father's representative and sits on his prayer-carpet of Shaikhdom, and, taking it from him, gave him another book, saying, "Read this." He made the books "Ihya'u'l-'Ulum,"² "Auārif," "Risāla yi-Makkiyya,"³ "Ādābu'l-Muridin,"⁴ (and other books of the same sort, the pivot on which his doctrine and practice turned, both in his religious duties and in the daily business of life. He always first recited the midday prayers with the congregation on Friday and afterwards recited the regular Friday prayers. In the *Khutbah*⁵ he altogether omitted the praises of kings. I saw him reciting the Friday prayers with his shoes on his feet, and he said "His holiness, the resort of apostleship, (may God bless and save him!) recited his prayers with his shoes on." On one occasion one of his pupils desired to learn a lesson from the book known as *Kafiyah*,⁶ asking for the Shaikh's blessing on

مَصْوِصُ الْحِكْمَةِ¹

"Articulations of the Sciences" Vide note on this work,
supra

² The "Ihya'u 'ulūm 'd dīn" by the Shaikh Imam, Muhyi'dīn Abu Hamid Muhammad Ibn Muhammad Ghazālī, who died at Tus, A H 505 (A D 1111-12). Of this book it has been said "If all books on Islām were lost, and the *Ihya* only remained, the loss of the others would not be felt." It is divided into four parts (1) on ritual, and matters of faith, (2) on manners and morals, (3) on the lusts of the world, the flesh, and the Devil, and (4) on the virtues of a religious life (*Hajī Khalīfah* I 180 182)

³ *Ar risalatu'l Makkiyyah*, by Shaikh Imam Qatibu'd din 'Abdu'l-Lāh Ibn Muhammad Ibn Arīmān 'l-Aṣfahānī. *Hajī Khalīfah* III 445

⁴ *Ādābu'l Muridin*, by Shaikh Abu'n Najib 'Abdu'l-Qāhir Ibu 'Abdī'l-Lāhi 's-Sabrawardi, (d. A H 503 - A D 1167-68). *Hajī Khalīfah* I 214

⁵ The oration or sermon delivered in the *masjid* every Friday

⁶ كافية في المعرفة (Kafiyat fi 'n Nahw) a work on Arabic Grammar, by Shaikh Jamālu'd din, commonly known as Ibnu'l-Hājīb (d. A H 646 - A D 1248). An edition of it was published by Capt. John Baillie, (Calcutta, 1805). Shaikh Nizāmu'd din objected to the use of it by his pupil on the score of its having no علوان (*unwan*), here called *dikha* (*Khutbah*), setting forth the praises of God. The pupil's argument was that he must learn Arabic grammar before he could read Arabic works on divinity, and that Grammar was therefore, in a sense, the foundation of a sound knowledge of divinity. The *Kafiyah* commences, without the usual *unwan* or preface, thus —

الكلمة لغط رفع لمعنی صفرد

Ibnu'l-Hājīb has been defended against the charge of impiety on the plea of

17. his lesson. The Shaikh pretended not to hear him. After much insistence and persistence on the part of the pupil the Shaikh said "Read some divinity." He said, "This work too is on divinity, inasmuch as divinity depends upon it." The Shaikh, in the warmth of his love for God, said, "How can divinity depend upon a book on which the first argument that has been advanced is that the author has omitted the praises of God, (may He be honoured and glorified !) from the introduction on account of his humility?" He rarely accepted a disciple, and (when he had one) he did not appoint his tasks for him or give him instruction.¹ Among his chosen disciples was Shaikh Hātim of Gopāmau whom he had removed from the class of students who read in the hospice of Qāzī Mubārak and kept with himself. To please the boy he would sometimes read lessons to him, and would sometimes give him a book, and set tasks for him, until he completely won his heart, and sometimes he would give him a turban, or shocs, or clothes. The Qāzī and the other students, when they saw these favours (bestowed upon Shaikh Hātim) were envious² of him. The holy Shaikh Nizāmu'-d-dīn, perceiving signs of this jealousy, said, "What can be done? God the Most High has willed to bestow upon Hātim a portion of prosperity by means of these unsatisfactory gifts, a few clothes and old shoes." Shaikh Nizām obtained such complete power and utter influence over Hātim that in a short time he (Hātim) attained a great reputation, and Shaikh Nizāmu'-d-dīn in expounding Divine truths and the mystic knowledge of God used to restrict the title of Shaikh to him alone. In the meanwhile³ Shaikh Hātim experienced many ups and downs, and he was troubled with asthma, and various sicknesses, and just as he had acquired the right to be Shaikh Nizāmu'-d-dīn's

his humility, which led him to believe that his book was not worthy of an *'unwān*. Nizāmu'-d-dīn was evidently too much of a precisian to admit this plea.

¹ *Vide infra*, p. 39, where the Shaikh gives his reason for neglecting this duty.

² The word used here is *ابه* (*ghibba*). Its usual meaning is "unguidg-
ing emulation." Bādāonī, however, habitually uses it in the sense of "envy."
Vide vol. I (Dr. Ranking's translation), p. 395 and p. 543, n. 4.

³ در این میان. The word *میان* is inserted in the text, though it appears in neither MS. It appears, however, necessary to the sense, and the textual reading is therefore probably the correct one.

deputy and successor so chose the path to the next world. The Shaikh would often say, "There was a servant of God to whom I used sometimes to teach the word of God, and he used to understand it. Now that he is gone to whom shall I speak of it?"

When I, the compiler of these historical selections, paid my respects to the Shaikh, Shaikh 'Abdu'-z Razzāq, who was both brother in law and father-in law¹ to him, was generally in conversation with him, and sometimes, but rarely, the Shaikh would go to see (or would go out walking with) Shaikh Muhammed also, his true deputy (or successor),² who now adorns the prayer carpet of the Shaikh with his presence, sitting as his successor. Since the late Muhammed Husain Khan,³ whose account of whom has already been recorded by my chronicling pen, and who was a man to whom I was bound by the bond of regard more closely than can be expressed in writing, entertained a desire to become a disciple of the holy Shaikh, he was privileged to pay his respects to him by the co-operation of Sayyid Asghar of Badaon and Qāzi Ahmad, the brother of Qāzi Mubarak of Gopamou,⁴ and thus hap-

لهم حسر بورا وهم حسر Both wife's brother and wife's father. Shaikh Husain dīn must therefore have married an aunt and a niece. This is allowable by Muhammadan law, provided that the two are not at the same time wives of one husband. The Shaikh probably married the aunt first, and, after her death, the niece.

² The text has here حلف صدق giving خلیفه which is the reading of MSS (A) and (B) as a footnote variant. The reading in the text has probably been adopted because حلف صدق is a much commoner phrase than خلیفه صدق. The sense is not affected. صدق is a substantive but must be translated as though it were an adjective.

³ The name 'Muhammed' is prefixed to Husain in both MSS. The Amir referred to is generally known as Husain Khan simply and is thus called in the subsequent passages of this narrative. He was Badaoni's first patron, *vide* note 4 on p. 6. He held Lakhman in *jagir* for about a year only, during which time Badaoni was in his service. Kaut n Gola was subsequently given to him in *jagir*. For the account of Husain Khan, here mentioned, *vide* Badaoni, vol II *passim*.

⁴ I can find no notice either of Sayyid Asghar or of Qāzi Ahmad, though an account of the latter's brother Qāzi Mubarak is given subsequently in this volume (c. II No. XLVII). In the text the words محمد درادر قاضی are very carelessly omitted so as to make it appear that Qāzi Mubarak himself and not his brother introduced Husain Khan to the Shaikh. These words are nevertheless clearly written in each MS.

Intense love for God overpowered the *Shaikh* and he ordered the student to be turned out of the assembly, but afterwards, calling him back again, he appeased him, and the contemplation of this matter was a great warning to us who were present. That night passed very uncomfortably for me in the hospice, and I watched for the morning in order that I might escape. The early morning prayers¹ were recited with the *Shaikh* at the moment the true dawn began to appear, when we could not see one another's faces without a lamp, I indeed thinking that it was yet night. At sunrise the *Shaikh* came out of his cell and stood at the door of the *masjid*, ordering Miyān *Shaikh* Muḥammad² to bring for us three whatever food might be ready, and I was in great agitation of mind, ever and again endeavouring to get Miyān *Shaikh* Muḥammad to obtain leave from his master for me to depart. The holy *Shaikh*, with his *Qur'ān* in one hand and salt in the other

20. was appositely expounding the blessed verse, "Make ready then against them what force ye can, and squadrons of horse,"³ and so on to the end of the verse, ignoring my application for leave to depart. *Apropos* of what he was saying he then mentioned, in a most affectionate manner, Husain Khan, who was at that time in the *pargana* of Isauli,⁴ and said, "He is my son."⁵ Then, follow-

in the first hemistich of this couplet, though it appears in both MSS. and is the correct reading.

¹ نماز صبح commonly called in Persian باداہ نماز, and in Arabic صلوٰة الفجر. The first of the five obligatory periods of prayer. These prayers should be recited between dawn and sunrise.

² This seems to have been Badāoni's younger brother.

³ *Qur'ān* VIII, 62.

وَأَعْدُوا لَهُم مَا أَسْتَطَعْتُمْ مِنْ قُوَّةٍ وَمِنْ رِبَاطِ الْخَيْلِ تُرْهِبُونَ بِهِ عَدُوَّاللَّهِ
وَعَدُوكُمْ وَآخَرِينَ مِنْ دُونِهِمْ لَا تَعْلَمُونَهُمُ اللَّهُ يَعْلَمُهُمْ وَمَا تَنْقِعُوا مِنْ شَيْءٍ
فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ يُوقَرُ إِلَيْكُمْ وَأَنْتُمْ لَا تُظْلَمُونَ -

The Arabic is very badly pointed in the text.

⁴ A *pargana* town in the *sarkār* of Lakhnau, Sūba Awadh (Oudh). Most likely one of Husain Khan's *jāgīr* villages, whither he had returned after the interview mentioned above.

⁵ The text has here بُونَة, which means "parrot." Both MSS. read بُونَة.

ing the dictates of his generous nature, which led him to bestow on every one, rich or poor, a piece of gold, or salt, or some other gift, he gave to me a *tanka*.

Of the miracles which I saw him perform, when I made that journey to visit him, this was one. As we three¹ were on the road to Amheṭhi, journeying to pay our respects to the *Shaikh* (the road-police) had arrested a man dressed as beggar on a charge of theft and highway robbery, and had seized him by his clothes.² He in some way managed to effect his escape, and in that very hour came begging to the holy *Shaikh*; but notwithstanding all his persistence and lamentation the *Shaikh* gave him nothing. We who were present were much astonished, as we had often witnessed instances of the *Shaikh's* generosity. The *Shaikh* at once opposed and objected to³ (our expressions of surprise) saying, "Look at the⁴ thief, who both robs on the highway and poses as a beggar," and he drove him out of our assembly. This caused great astonishment, and when we looked closely at the man we recognized him as the same person whom the road-police had laid hands on.

On the same day another occurrence, similar to this, took place, but an account of it would occupy much space.

On the last day of *Ramazan*, in the year already mentioned, we were travelling rapidly at night⁵ with *Husain Khan*, from his

which means "the young of man or of any animal," and is a far more appropriate term than نوجہ. I have, of course, followed the MSS.

¹ That is, Qazi Ahmad of Gopāman, Sayyid Aṣghar, and Badīoni himself, or perhaps Husain Khan is included, in which case one of the other two must be left out.

² حاءهای اور کشیدہ بودند. This seems to mean rather, "had pulled off his clothes," the thief leaving his clothes in the hands of the police and so escaping, but as Badīoni says immediately afterwards that the thief escaped سریعی (in some way or other) I have translated the phrase by "seized him by his clothes," in order to preserve the ambiguity regarding the thief's means of escape.

³ اعراف و اعتراض. The words و اعتراض are carelessly omitted from the text, though they occur in both MSS.

⁴ The text has the word ایں ("this") here, though it occurs in neither MS. I have omitted it in the translation.

⁵ The year was H 976 (A.D. 1568). It must be borne in mind that the Muslims, like the Jews, reckon their day from sunset. Thus "the last day of *Ramazan*, at night," would be, according to our reckoning "the night of the

companions of the late Jumādī Khān asked whose disciple Khāja Hāfiq was, and the Shaikh said, "He was the disciple of Khāja Nāqshband,"¹ (may God sanctify his soul!) Another, *apropos* of the same subject, asked "How was horse-flesh regarded in the religion of the greatest of the *Sufis*?"² (i.e., was it lawful food or not?) The Shaikh replied that the greatest of the *Sufis* himself ate horse-flesh, and when he recited this couplet—

"The *Sufis* celebrate in one moment two 'ids (great feasts)
"Spiders make pavilions of a fly."³

then I too, trusting in my own singleness of heart, thoughtlessly asked, "What is meant by the 'two 'ids'?" This question annoyed the Shaikh and he angrily said, "Let Dāyazid⁴ and Junaid,⁵ or Shihab⁶ and Mausūr⁷ ask such a question as this. What have you to do with such a question?" And falling into this vein he spoke

¹ Khāja Nāqshband-i-Dīn Nāqshband. *Vide* *Ain-i-Akbari*, text, II, 213. Bigg Quill, according to Col. Wilberforce Ochterlony, states, that the pir who instructed Hāfiq was Shāfi'īk Shamsu'd-Dīn Shāfi'ī.

² Abu Hanifah, the founder of one of the four orthodox schools of theological schools of Islam.

³ I cannot find this couplet in any edition of Hāfiq to which I have access. I know of no one English word which will translate the word شیخ, so I have used "pavilion" as the word which most conveniently translates it.

⁴ The person meant is Dāyazid-i-Anṣarī, the apostle of the Afghāns, who is styled *Pir-i-Sāfīgān*, and founded the *Sufi* sect called *Rāmānīyyah*, or "the enlightened." He established under the mountains of Afghanistan a temporal power upon the authority of his spiritual character, and his successors disturbed the tranquillity of the Dīlkh shā Empire during the reign of Akbar. *Vide* Deane's "Oriental Biographical Dictionary."

⁵ Shaikh Junaid-i-Baghdādī, a famous ascetic, born at Baghdad, where he died in A.H. 208 (A.D. 921). (Deane O.B.D.)

⁶ Shaikh Abu'l-Hasan-i-Shihab a celebrated doctor of divinity, born and brought up at Baghdad, where he died A.H. 334 (A.D. 946). Shaikh Junaid, mentioned in the last note, was one of his spiritual masters. (Deane O.B.D.).

⁷ Mausūr-i-Halīlī, the surname of Shaikh Musulūl-i-Halīlī, a celebrated *Sufi* and ascetic. Muslims differed in their opinion of his character. By some he was believed to be a saint and a worker of miracles, by others a juggler and impostor, deceiving the people with his tricks. He was in the habit of proclaiming "Aan-i-Haqq," "I am the Truth," or "I am (God)"—the logical conclusion of his *Sufi* doctrine. For this blasphemy he was put to death with great torture by the Khalīfah Muqtadār in A.H. 300 (A.D. 919) or, according to Ibn-u-Khalīkān in A.H. 300 (A.D. 922). He is considered by the *Sufis* to be one of their most spiritual leaders, and to have attained

pargana to Ambethī, and all our efforts were centred on reaching that place in time to recite the early morning prayers¹ in company with the *Shaikh*. The dawn had already appeared when, at three *kurūh*² distance from Ambeṭhī, we put spurs to our horses, and regretted that we were not in time for the public prayers.³ We reached the *Shaikh's masjid* in Ambeṭhī as the sun was about to rise. At that moment the holy *Shaikh*, having come out of his house, was just commencing his prayers with the “*Allāhu Akbar*,”⁴

21. and he broke off, and we thought that we were just too late, but we nevertheless attained the great honour (which we sought). Now this act of the *Shaikh* was contrary to his usual custom, for he always recited the early morning prayers at a time when we thought that the true dawn had hardly appeared.

It chanced that towards the close of the same day the *Shaikh* was explaining the mysticism of the *Sūfis*⁵ in the *masjid*, and he read some⁶ verses from the *Dīvān* of *Khāja Hāfiẓ*.⁷ One of the

last day but one of *Ramazān*⁸ or, in this case, as they travelled through the night “the early morning of the last day of *Ramazān*.” The necessity for this explanation will be apparent hereafter, where it is stated that Husain *Khan* returned to Lakhnau to keep the ‘*id* there.

1 *نماز بامداد* vide *suprū* p. 34, n. 1.

2 The *kos* of Hindustān. Vide *Aīn-i-Akbarī*, Vol. II. (trans. Jarrett), p. 414 and n. 2.

3 *جماعت*. These prayers were hardly, in this instance, public. They were rather “common to two or more.” Their merit lay in the “gathering of two or three together,” as S. Chrysostom, quoting the Holy Scriptures, says.

4 *تکبیر نهار*. This is the repetition, at the commencement of the ritual prayers, of the *mu'azzin's* call to prayer, which commences with the *تکبیر* (“*الله اکبر*”) repeated three times.

5 *بيان تصوف*. Reference has already been made to the doctrines of the *Sūfis*.

6 The word *ایذ* (“some,”) which appears in the text, is in neither MS. I have, nevertheless, retained it, for the context clearly shews that the *Shaikh* read more than one couplet.

7 The prince of Persian poets, the “interpreter of secrets,” and “the tongue of that which is hidden.” He is too well-known to stand in need of any description here. He is known even in England, where, as a rule, no one is known who has not been, as “sweet hulky Bottom” was, translated. *Hāfiẓ* has not been translated into English, but the English equivalents of the Persian words used by him have been given by Colonel Wilberforce Clarke, R. E.

companions of the late Hnsain Khan asked whose disciple Khaja Hafiz was, and the Shaikh said, "He was the disciple of Khaja Naqshband,"¹ (may God sanctify his soul!) Another, apropos of the same subject, asked "How was horse flesh regarded in the religion of the greatest of the Imams?"² (i.e., was it lawful food or not?) The Shaikh replied that the greatest of the Imams himself ate horse flesh, and when he reached this couplet —

"The Sufis celebrate in one moment two 'ids (great feasts)
"Spiders make pemmican of a fly."³

then I too, trusting in my own singleness of heart, thoughtlessly asked, "What is meant by the 'two 'ids?'" This question annoyed the Shaikh and he angrily said, "Let Bāyazid⁴ and Junaid,⁵ or Shibli⁶ and Mausur⁷ ask such a question as this. What have you to do with such a question?" And falling into this vein he spoke

¹ Khaja Bahau d Din Naqshband Vide Ain-i Akbari, text, II, 212
Rūza Qulī, according to Col Wilberforce Clarke, states, that the pir who instructed Hafiz was Mansūnā Shamsu'd Din Shirazi

² Abu Hanifah, the founder of one of the four orthodox sects or theological schools of Islam

³ I cannot find this couplet in any edition of Hafiz to which I have access I know of no one English word which will translate the word سعی، so I have used 'pemmican' as the word which most conveniently translates it

⁴ The person meant is Bayazid-i Anṣari, the apostle of the Afghans, who is styled Pir-i Raughan, and founded the Sufi sect called Raughaniyyah, or "the enlightened." He established amid the mountains of Afghanistan temporal power upon the authority of his spiritual character, and his successors disturbed the tranquillity of the Delhi empire during the reign of Akbar Vide Beale's Oriental Biographical Dictionary"

⁵ Shaikh Junaid-i Baghdadi, a famous ascetic, born at Baghdad, where he died in A H 298 (A D 911) (Beale OBD)

⁶ Shaikh Abu Bakr-i Shihhi a celebrated doctor of divinity, born and brought up at Baghdad, where he died A H 334 (A D 946) Shaikh Junaid, mentioned in the last note, was one of his spiritual masters (Beale OBD)

⁷ Mansur-i Hallaj, the surname of Shaikh Husain-i Hallaj a celebrated Sufi and ascetic Musalmans differed in their opinion of his character By some he was believed to be a saint and a worker of miracles, by others a juggler and impostor, deceiving the people with his tricks He was in the habit of proclaiming 'Ana l Haqq.' 'I am the Truth,' or 'I am God' — the logical conclusion of his Sufi doctrines. For this blasphemy he was put to death with great torture by the Khalifah Muqtadir in A H 306 (A D 919) or, according to Ibn u Khalikan in A H 309 (A D 922) He is considered by the Sufis to be one of their most spiritual leaders, and to have attained

much on the subject, and I, hanging my head with shame, repented my indiscretion. Husain Khān, biting his finger with consternation, looked ever and anon towards me, and his friends were all bewildered. Suddenly my lot was lightened by the rising of the (joyful) clamour which is heard on the appearance of the new moon of the 'id,¹ and all rose and busied themselves in mutual congratulations and hand-shakings. I rose, and on the plea of being fatigued went to recite my evening prayers in a tent which was pitched in a garden beside the masjid, feeling sick of life. When the holy Shaikh, going indoors, set food before his guests, he asked "Where is such an one?"² (i.e., Badāoni), Shaikh Muḥammad, his worthy successor,³ answered, "By reason of the impertinence of which he was guilty he could not appear in the masjid, and he absented himself also from the public prayers. The Shaikh then sent me some food from his own table, with his blessing, and I was somewhat consoled, and entertained hopes of forgiveness. Early the next morning Husain Khān went to Lakhnau, to join in celebrating the 'id there, and I alone remained in Ambethī. The holy Shaikh recited the prayers of the festival in his masjid and afterwards occupied himself in giving instruction in the book known as the 'Awārif.' Meanwhile Shaikh Muḥammad rose up to intercede for me, and asked that my fault might be forgiven. The Shaikh sent for me, and breaking off his teaching turned to me with great kindness, and when I, my eyes full of tears, placed my head on his foot, he embraced me and said "I bear no eumity or malice in my heart against anybody. Whatever I say is in the way of advice and spiritual

the fourth, or last stage of Sūfi-ism. An inspired Sūfi is said to have demanded of the Almighty why he permitted Maṇṣūr to suffer. The reply was, "This is the punishment for the revealer of seerets," i.e., his offence was not blasphemy, but indiscretion in uttering a great truth to ears unfit to hear it. (Beale O.B.D.). It seems that the Shaikh was vexed with Badāoni for inquiring into matters which were beyond him (Badāoni) but it may be that the Shaikh was not ready with an answer and took advantage of Badāoni's known servility to "saints" to escape, by this means, the necessity of owning himself to be at a loss.

¹ I.e., the new moon had been sighted and the 'idu-'l ḥīr had begun.

² علی. The use of this word is due to modesty, as the author by its use avoids introducing his own name.

³ حلف صدق.

* Vide suprà, p. 17, n. 2.

instruction to the slaves of God, and abuse from me, as was the case with abuse from the prophet of God, (may God bless and save him), has on its object the same effect as praise (from another), and even if I utter a curse on anybody it has the same effect as a blessing¹ Then, in affection, taking his cap from his blessed head, he gave it to me, and took me apart into the cell which was in the gate-house, and said "Perform your ceremonial ablutions in my presence, and recite your prayers" I recited them wonderingly He said to me, "Men say of me that I do not instruct students. What instruction can I give? My instruction and religious teaching are just this much, a tongue never weary of praising God and a thankful heart" Then he became agitated like a stormy surging sea and said "My life is instruction sufficient for seekers after God, and walkers in His way"² Just then two *dariishes* from Sindh, breaking the *Shāikh's* custom, began to sing outside an Indian melody in mournful and grating tones, and my spiritual condition underwent a change³ by means of the influence brought to bear on me at that time. *Apropos* of this (influence) the *Shāikh* said that the great companions (of Muhammad),⁴ (may God be gratified with them!), when they saw that the desert 'Arabs newly converted to Islam were much affected by hearing the glorious Qur'ān read, regretted their own state, and the leader of the faithful, Abū-Bakr, the faithful witness of the truth, (may God be gratified with him!), said, "We were like you, but afterwards our hearts became hard that is to say, they became firmly fixed and immovable, so that they were like stones for lack of ability to be

23

¹ The *Shāikh* was evidently ashamed of himself, but, rather than confess himself in the wrong, adroitly managed to persuade Badaoni, by a line of reasoning that would be deemed irreverent by any Muslim who was not a slavish admirer that he had received a blessing rather than an insult.

² *Vide supra*, p. 30, n. 1 The text inserts between the words تلقين طالبان the conjunction *و*, which is in neither MS. and destroys the sense.

³ حال در من از آن وقت متغیر شد This sentence is somewhat obscure, as *حال* may be taken to mean either "condition," simply, or "ecstasy" Nor is it clear whether Badaoni means that the mournful and harsh "music" combined with the *Shāikh's* discourse made him a changed man, or that the "music" broke the spell under which the *Shāikh's* discourse had laid him.

⁴ Abu Bakr, 'Umar, 'Ugman, and 'Ab

softened.”¹ Then the Shaikh read some sentences which were quite unfamiliar to my ear, and gave me permission to use the following prayer constantly:—“O God, I seek protection of Thee against deafness, dumbness, madness, leprosy, and leucoderma.”² When I took my leave and came to Lakhnau I made a stay of some days there, and the Shaikh would sometimes send me a piece of salt, which he used generally to hold in his hand and lick when in an assembly, reciting this saying of Muhammad, “Salt is a cure for seventy diseases, except death.”³ And he would sometimes also send me some uncooked⁴ rice, and sometimes an earthenware jar, and other presents, and he received my younger brother, the late Shaikh Muhammad, into the company of his disciples and pupils, and in a short time, being blessed⁵ with the holy Shaikh’s regard he acquired angelic qualities and a love for the practice of ascetism. He generally observed the continued fast,⁶ and spent his time in reading the glorious *Qur’ān*, in reciting God’s praises, in exorcism, and in

¹ I have not been able to find another quotation of this saying. The text and both MSS. have the word تلوين, which means (in this context) “ability to receive colour.” The sense is not apparent, as a stone can receive colour as well as can any other object. But if we read تلبيين, with a difference of one letter only, the meaning will be that which I have given in my translation, which is in every way more appropriate.

² بوعن جدام and جدام. The first is the true leprosy, in which the fingers and other extremities gradually rot away, and the face assumes the “leonine” appearance. The second is *leucoderma*, or white leprosy, which itself affects only the colouring matter of the skin, but is commonly said (*Muḥītu-l-Muḥīt sub voce* بوص) to end in true leprosy. It is this disease with which Gehazi was smitten—“Et egressus est ab eo lepronus quasi nix.”

ויצא מלפנינו מצרע בשלג 2 Kings v. 27.

³ There are many “sayings” of Muhammad on the virtues of salt. Some specify salt as a cure for some of the diseases for protection from which Bādāoni had just been directed to pray.

⁴ خام in both MSS. The text has خاص, with خام as a footnote variant. I have, of course, adopted the reading of the MSS.

⁵ بيمن the reading of both MSS. The text has همین, which destroys the sense.

⁶ روزگطی. This consists in fasting during the six days following the *‘idu-l-fitr*, i.e., from the 2nd to the 7th of Shawwāl, inclusive. Abū Ayūb relates that Muhammad said “The person who fasts the month of Ramaḍān and follows it up with six days of the month of Shawwāl, will obtain the rewards of a continued fast” (Hughes, Dict. of Islām, *sub voce* “Fasting.”)

works of supererogation, so that not one hour of his precious life was wasted, or was passed in idleness, as mine has been.

"In respect of rose-water and the rose the decree of fate from time without beginning has been this,

"That the former is a courtesan of the market place, and the latter a chaste and curtained dame"

And at that time he left the world, and it is certain that, preserving his faith intact, he retired to the garden of Rizwān¹ The venerable age of the holy Shāikh extended to more than eighty years, and even at that great age he begat children, and his departure from this abode of decay took place in the year H 979 (A.D. 1571-72). 24

X. SHAIKH BHIKAN OF KAKORI²

Kakori³ is a pargana town in the Sākār of Lakhnau. The Shāikh was the most learned of the learned men of his time, abstemious and well versed in the holy law, while in devout piety even the greatest of the *Imāms*⁴ (Abū Hanifah) was his inferior. For many years he was engaged in teaching and in instructing the people. He had committed the whole of the glorious word (of God) to memory, according to each of the seven methods of reading it. He used also to give instruction in Shāfi'iyyah⁵. He reckoned his spiritual succession from Mir Sayyid Ibrahīm of Irij,⁶ (may God sanctify his soul!) who was

¹ Rizwān is the keeper of the garden of Paradise.

² The text omits the Shāikh's territorial designation in the head line, following MS (B). I follow MS (A) and insert it.

³ Kakori, given in the text, for some reason or for no reason as کاکری (Kakari). Both MSS have Kakori. Vide also *Ain-i-Akkari* (text), I.

⁴ This is the reading of the text, and is undoubtedly the correct reading. The word *imām* is somewhat indistinct in both MSS. Perhaps the copyists considered Badoni's comparison irreverent, and compounded with their consciences by writing the word *fāt* as indistinctly as possible.

⁵ This reference is to a poem named *Hirzu'l amani wa wajhu t-tahāni*, the subject of which is the seven methods of reading the Qur'an. The author was Abū'l Muhammadi l-Qāsimi sh-Shāfi'i from whom the poem is known as *ash-shāfi'iyyah*. This author died in H 590 (A.D. 1194). Shāfi'i is said by Ibn Khallikan to be a town in Eastern Spain. I cannot identify it. Vide Hajj Khalifa III 43, and Ibn Khallikan, s.v. *ash-shāfi'i*.

⁶ Irij was the chief town of a sālih of the same name in the Suba of Agra. Vide *Ain-i-Akkari*, text, Vol. I., p. 448.

himself the most learned of the learned men of his time. The Shaikh would never mention the *Sūfī* mysteries in a public assembly, but only in private, to those who had been initiated in their secrets and one of his sayings was "If the mystical profession of the Unity of God¹ be made in public it turns again solely to him who uttered it, or to the learned men (present)."

He would not listen to singing, and outwardly reprobated it. He left numerous children who attained perfection, all of whom were adorned with the embellishment of rectitude, piety, wisdom, knowledge, and excellence.

The compiler of these historical selections was honoured, in company with the late Muhammad Husain Khan,² by being permitted to pay his respects to the Shaikh in Lakhnau. It was the blessed month of Ramazān, and a certain one brought to the Shaikh a work on logic, asking him to set him a task in that book. The Shaikh said "You should read some book on divinity."

The Shaikh's death occurred in the year H. 981 (A.D. 1573-4).

XI. SHAIKH SA'DI.

He also was one of the more esteemed among holy men. His line of spiritual descent came through his own revered father, Shaikh Muhammad (may God render his soul fragrant). Shaikh Muhammad wrote a commentary in Persian on *Shāṭibi*,³ which covered nearly seventy quires of paper. His true successor, 25. Shaikh Sa'di, was subject to fits of overpowering religious ecstasy, and was pure both in body and soul. He was ever cheerful and light of heart, and lived happy and free from care. To one of his friends he wrote in a letter, when saying farewell to him :—

"Thy Sa'di's eyes and heart are with thee on thy way,

"So deem not that thou goest alone, they bide with thee
alway."

His death occurred in the year H. 1002 (A.D. 1593-4).

تَكْرِيْد تَوْحِيدِه¹. This means really the confession of the unity of everything with God and of God with everything, the expression of belief in the pantheism of the *Sūfīs*. The meaning of this somewhat enigmatical "saying" is that such a statement made in public cannot possibly edify the uninitiated, and is confined in its results to the speaker and the initiated present. The text wrongly following MS. (B) has اهْل عَالَم "men of the world," for اهْل عِلْم (MS. A) "men of knowledge."

² Badāoni's first patron, *vide suprā*, p. 6, n. 4.

³ *Vide suprā* in the life of Shaikh Bhikan, the last mentioned holy man.

XII. SAYYID TAJU'-D-DIN, OF LAKHNAU¹

He was one of the successors of Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus,² and was a master of the art of exorcism. He had a great reputation for asceticism, holy poverty, and resignation, and was generous and open-handed. He came to Lakhnau, where very many were honoured by converse with him, and received from him permission to give instruction in religious matters. There he died.

XIII. SHAIKH MUHAMMAD QALANDAR OF LAKHNAU³

In his youth he served in the army, in the reign of Sultān Ibrāhim Lodi,⁴ but when the Emperor Babar conquered India he gave up that profession for a life of holy poverty, sacrificing all his ambition thereto.⁵ He became a disciple of Shaikh Bahlul, devoting himself to the service of God and to asceticism. From his spiritual instructor he learnt the proper use of some of the names of God in exorcism, and lived the life of a recluse in a garden, most of the trees of which had been planted by himself, shutting in his own face the door of entry into and exit from the houses of other men. They used to say that for more than thirty years his food had been nothing but milk alone, and that he never used pulse or any sort of food other than (milk). One day when Muhammad Husain Khān, accompanied by me, went to visit him, a cat came up to the Shaikh mewing piteously. The Shaikh said "This cat has cause of complaint, for you have wasted both her time and the time of the master of the house, 26. causing it to be passed in frivolity, and distracting my heart."

¹ In MS (A) the life which here follows is headed with the name of Shaikh Muhammad Qalandar of Lakhnau, biography No XII being given as the life of this saint. I follow the text and MS (B) in the arrangement of the names, but follow the two MSS in the designation of Sayyid Taju'-d-din—"of Lakhnau"—which is omitted in the text.

² No III.

³ Vide note on the heading of biography No XII.

⁴ The third and last sovereign of the Lodi dynasty, grandson of Bahlul Lodi, the first of the line. Sultān Ibrāhim was conquered and slain by Babar on the field of Panipat in A.D. 1525.

⁵ MS (A) has, here—correctly as it seems to me. The text and MS. (B) omit it.

⁶ A cumbersome translation of عَصْلَى, but one which explains its meaning fully.

XIV. SHAIKH NIẒĀMU'D-DIN¹ OF NĀRNŌL.

Nārnol² is one of the famous cities of India. Although the Shaikh was the disciple of Shaikh Khānūn of the *Cishtī*³ order, who was settled in the fort of Gwāliyār, he always declared that he acquired most of his excellence, and education, as well as the spiritual succession, from his own elder brother, Shaikh Isma'il by name. He was a *Sūfi* who had attained the first stage of recognition of God,⁴ had overcome his desires, and had acquired complete hope in God's mercy. He was thoroughly acquainted with the (spiritual) condition of those who had retired from the world and had chosen the religious life, and possessed great influence over them. I have heard that he used to order the *darvishes* of his hospice, during eclipses of the moon, to take oil of the *Oelastrus*,⁵ (a medicine well-known in India, on which treatises, describing its virtues, have been written, and of the properties of which the author has had some small experience), and that under its influence the truth about the next world⁶ was revealed to them, and that he used to recount to them⁷ other wonderful matters—but God knows the truth.

He remained seated on the throne of religious guidance for nearly forty years, and from early youth to the end of his life

¹ The text and MS. (B) have “Shaikh Niẓām” only, but MS. (A), which I follow, gives the Shaikh's full name.

² The chief town of a *sarkār* in the *Ṣūba* of Agra (vide *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, Vol. II. trans. Jarrett, pp. 97, 182, 193.

³ *Vide supra*, *passim*.

⁴ ذوق vide *Iṣṭilāḥatū'-z-Sūfiyyah* (Sprenger) s. v.

⁵ مالکنگنی رون (raughan-i-māl-kañgnī). *Māl-kañgnī* is the Hindi name of celastrus or staff-tree. The oil is extracted from “the aromatic bitter seed” of this tree, and is “held in much repute for diseases of the stomach and bowels.” *Vide Fallon*, s. v.

⁶ میشد آخرت احوال. This is not one of the properties attributed to the drug by Fallon. It is pretty evident, from what Bādāoni says, that the drug, whatever it may have been, was an intoxicant, used by Niẓāmu'd-din's orders for the purpose of inducing a trance, or mock state of religious ecstasy. The ordering of the use of the drug on the particular occasions mentioned points to a debased superstition which has but little connection with pure Muhammadanism.

⁷ The text inserts بہ here, although the word appears in neither MS. and is pleonastic. I follow the readings of the MSS.

there were very few years in which he did¹ not make a pilgrimage on foot, inflamed with strong desire and fervour, losing no time on the way, to the shrine of that holy polo star of the world, Khaja Qutb-ud-din Bakhtyar of Ush,² (may God sanctify his tomb!). Towards the end of his life, owing to old age, and other things which hindered him (from performing this pilgrimage), he used to celebrate the festival³ of the sainted Khaja in Narnol. In abandoning all outward show he followed the footsteps of his spiritual guide, and in his freedom from ceremoniousness and formality he regarded rich and poor alike, observing the same impartiality also in admitting disciples. I saw him when he was surrounded by a crowd, and so did not attain to the honour of conversing with him. His death took place in the year H 997, (A.D 1588-9,) and the words "Alas for Nizam"⁴ were found to give the date

XV SHAIKHU'L HIDYA OF KHAIRABAD⁵

He was profoundly learned and in early life spent many years in teaching and giving instruction. He was a disciple of Shaikh Safi, the spiritual successor of Shaikh Sa'id, and held from him a diploma, authorizing him to give religious instruction. In early life he employed⁶ himself to such an extent in the acquisition of exoteric knowledge that there are now living many wise men,

¹ MS (A) has here میرو سید, which is wrongly substituted for نیرسید. I have followed the reading of the text and MS (B) which is correct.

² MS (B) has (wrongly) رشی for ارشنی. Ush is in Transoxiana and was the birthplace of the Khaja who died on the 14th Rabi u 'l Awwal A.H. 634 (A.D 1236). He was offered by Sultan Shamsu 'd-din Iyaltamsh the post of Shaikhu'l Islam, which he declined. The Khaja's full name and titles were Khaja Qutb ud din Mubammad Bakhtyar i Ush yi Kak. *Vide Faraqta*, Bo text, II 717-725 and *Azn : Akbar* II trans Jarrett, 303 and note 2.

³ عرس The term usually applied to the festival of a Musalman saint in India. The word means "nuptials," and is used to signify the saint's union with God, the festival usually commemorating his death.

⁴ نظام $1+5+50+900+1+40=997$.

⁵ The chief town of a *sarkar* of the same name in the *Sabz* of Awadh (Oadh). The unusual name of this saint recurs in the *Padishahnama*, as the name of one of Shah Jahan's officers.

⁶ MS (A) has wrongly مشغول for مشغولی here. I follow the text, which is supported by MS (B).

masters of perfection, who owe their wisdom to his teaching.¹ Latterly he devoted² himself wholly to the *Sūfi*-istic rule, founding an order of devotees, vowed to personal poverty, whose rule was resignation to God, retirement from the world, and the giving of alms. A keen appreciation of the ecstatic songs and dances (of *darvîshes*) and an overpowering religious ecstasy were comprised in his daily system of religious exercises,³ and were never omitted. He restrained his steps from wandering to the doors of men, especially of worldly men, and those of position and rank, and on these grounds he never accepted an invitation to a feast. All his offspring and followers secured the good fortune of the assistance of the example of his practice in enduring poverty and want. One of them was his true successor⁴ Shaikh Abû-'l-Fath, who succeeded to his prayer-mat, and is one of the most pre-eminent⁵ among the learned men of this time. In his rules of conduct, both outward and inward, he follows, wholly and completely, his venerable father, and he is the author of many standard works on most branches of knowledge. Never did a beggar go away disappointed from the Shaikh.

One day Muhammād Ḫusain Khân asked the Shaikh, "What sort of a man was Sâlâr Mas'ûd,⁶ whom the common people of

¹ Lit. "are his heirs."

² The text has نمود while both MSS. have نمود، which is correct.

³ The text has here درود وظیفه which is a very unsatisfactory reading. The MSS. give ورد وظیفه، which is undoubtedly correct.

⁴ خلف صدق.

⁵ فحول pl. of فعل. Literally "males." The force of the expression will be understood when the Oriental view of masculine superiority is remembered.

⁶ Sister's son to Sultân Mahmûd of Ghaznî. He was slain by Hindûs at Bahrâic, iu Awadh (Oudh) on his wedding-day, which thus became, in a double sense, his عرس (*vide supra*). The point of the question, put to a presumably orthodox Musalmân, will be appreciated only by those who are acquainted with the latitudinarian cult of this "saint." Want of space compels me to forego an account of this cult, but those who are interested in the popular religion of Indian peoples and in the peculiar developments of Muhammadanism in India will do well to study "Heroes Five" by Mr. R. Greeven of the Indian Civil Service. Curiously enough this Northern Indian cult finds its counterpart in the Dakhan in the cult of 'Abdu'r-Rahmân, a close relation of Sâlâr Mas'ûd, which however is not nearly so popular as is the cult of the latter.

India worship?" The Shaikh replied, "He was an Afghan who met his death by martyrdom"¹

Towards the end of his life, in accordance with an Imperial summons, he came to Fathpur and there saw the Khalifa² (vice gerent) of the age. When the Emperor heard that the Shaikh, when the messenger conveyed the summons to him, set out from his hospice on foot, without allowing anything to detain him, travelling thus until his servants sent his baggage and travelling litter after him, he was much pleased. When he asked the Shaikh a question the Shaikh would make a sign to signify that he was hard of hearing, and the Emperor would give him a piece of gold. He also ordered that a subsistence allowance³ should be assigned to the Shaikh, and then immediately gave him permission to depart.

The Shaikh's death occurred in the year H 993 (A D 1585)
May the mercy of God be upon him!

XVI SHAIKH DA'UD OF CHATI

(*May God sanctify his soul!*)

Chati⁴ is the chief town of a pargana in the District of Lāhor. The Shaikh's noble ancestors came first from the land of the 'Arabs⁵ to Sipur,⁶ which is in the Multan country, and the holy Shaikh was himself born in that place. His noble father proceeded⁷ from this world to eternity before his birth, and his mother died⁷ very shortly after it, and he, left alone, as an incomparahlo

¹ The very curtiness of this reply shews the Shaikh's unwillingness to countenance in any way the debased cult of Salar Masud.

² See Akbar.

³ معاش مدد Either a subsistence allowance in money, or, more probably, lands held on aima tenure.

⁴ MS (A) and the text have چاتی. MS (B) has چٹی. The description of this town given in the text enables us to identify it with Chat Chat and Ambala (not to be confounded with the well known military cantonment, which was in the Sirhind *Sarkar* of the *Soba* of Dihli) together formed a *mahall* in the *Sarkar* of the Bari Duab in the *Soba* of Lahor. Vide *Ain-i-Akbari* Vol II (trans Jarrett) p 318.

⁵ ولایت عرب. A vague term including both Turkish Arabia and Arabia Proper.

⁶ A pargana town in the district 'Birka + Panjnad, (beyond the five rivers) opposite the Sind Sagar Duab *Sarkar* of the *Soba* of Multan. AA II (Jarrett), 331.

⁷ حرمیدہ.

pearl,¹ was brought up under the guardianship of his elder brother, Miyān Rahmatu-'llāh. When they set him tasks in the reading of the *Qurā'n*, tears would sometimes flow over the surface of his blessed cheeks, and he would say, "Trouble me not in respect of this matter, but leave me unto God the Most High." From this time they knew that he had no need of any acquired learning.

Couplet.

"What need had he of instruction in polite learning,
"Who was himself from the first well learned therein?"

They say that one of the two princes of both worlds, either 'Imām Ḥasan or 'Imām Husain,² (may God be gratified with them!), it cannot be decided which, taught the holy *Shaikh* in 29. a dream some verses from the first chapter of the *Qur'ān*, and sometimes when he went, to refresh his heart, to watch the play of children,³ he would dejectedly and perplexedly watch them from afar, and would say, "I see their faces scratched, their bodies⁴ covered with blood, and their skin torn off, and some of them appear to me as though they had lost their heads."⁵

When, after many temporal vicissitudes and various hardships, he came to the pargana town of Satgarah,⁶ and from there to Lāhōr, he commenced to study under Maulānā Isma'il of Uch,⁷ who had received instruction from his highness the lord Maulavi

¹ دریتیم lit. "an orphan pearl," i.e., a pearl which has no peer. The double meaning of the word پریتیم cannot be reproduced in English.

² The slaughtered sons of 'Alī and Fāṭimah, and grandsons of Muhammad.

³ The text has بزمشا بازی خردسالان میرفت, but both MSS. have بزمشای بازی خردسالان میرفت, which is evidently the correct reading. I follow the MSS.

⁴ The text here has بدنهاي باي افانده with the word باي though the word is thus written in neither MS. The mistake does not alter the sense, but it destroys the structural uniformity of the sentence.

⁵ This phrase is here used in its literal sense. The Persian has گويما سرندازند.

⁶ This must be Ṣadkhara or Ṣadkara, as it is written in the *Aīn-i-Akbarī*, (both text and translation) in the Bārī Dūāb Sarkār of the Sūba of Multān.

⁷ The well-known town in the Sarkār Bīrūn-i-Panjnad (beyond the five rivers) in the Sūba of Multān. Vide *Aīn-i-Akbarī*, Vol. II. (trans. Jarrett), p. 331, Raverty "The Mihrān of Sind," J. A. S. B., Pt. I., 1892 *passim*.

'Ainif i Jami, (may God sanctify his tomb¹), and in early youth he read the commentary of Isfahani² with such critical acumen,³ that the best students from among the natives of the country, who were reading that book in class with him, stood⁴ astonished at the perspicuous quickness of his apprehension and the clearness of his intellect, and his tutor said, "Friends, just as we, in our time, used to rejoice and contend for superiority in the sight of our respected master, so too will this lad, before long, attain to such a degree of respect that the people will⁵ look towards him with blessing and benediction, and from his noble and profitable words will gain advantage and excellency"⁶ At last he became a living witness (of the truth of) and (one might say) the source of (the saying), "Blessed is he who hath seen me or hath seen one who hath seen me"⁷

"My love, though he went not to school, nor wrote a line,

"By means of one glance instructed a hundred teachers in (difficult) problems"⁸

Aud, having attained the position of a most learned sage he was rejoiced with the good news of the sacred text, "O David, verily have we made thee a vicegerent"⁹ And at the very time when he was employed in the exercise of harsh and severe

الشَّرْحُ الْمُكَمَّلُ "El Sharh El Mokammel, commentarius absolutus de genealogia Hasani neglecta auctore Imam Hafiz Abu Musa Mohammed Ben Omar Madini Isfahani, [anno 581 (inc 4 Apr 1189) mortuo] In hoc compendio, quod ita incipit Laus Deo qui ex cultoribus suis eos quos vult praeter ceteros distinxit, etc, auctoritatem Hasani Ben Moslim in traditione 'Moslim de potionibus' describit 'Hajj Khalfa' iv 41

طَوْرَى نَا سَعْقَاقٍ

³ MS (B) has مِيَمَادَدَ The text rightly follows MS (A) with مِيَمَادَدَ

⁴ MS (B) has حَوَاهِدَ The text rightly follows (A) with حَوَاهِدَ

⁶ The text, following MS (A) has اَسْلَمَنِي. There is no such word MS (B) has اَسْلَمَنِي which is correct

⁶ One of the traditional sayings of Muhammad, in which he refers to himself

⁷ A couplet from Hsî, Ode 241 (Colonel Jarrett's edition) The text and MS (A) have for عَزَّزْتُ, عَزَّزْتُ, MS (B) has عَزَّزْتُ, عَزَّزْتُ is correct.

⁸ بَأَدَاءِ إِنْجَانِكَ حَلِيلَةٌ Qur'an XXXVIII 25

austerities, having conceived, by means of the attractions of God,—“which are equal to the acts of both men and *jinn*,”—a strong craving after God, his spiritual holiness Ghausu'-s-Saqalain (may God be pleased with him!) evinced, in all circumstances, great interest in his progress, and became his helper, assister, and guardian, keeping his regard always fixed upon him, openly listening to and returning favourable answers to his petitions, until he perforce drew him, after the manner of beloved ones who are attracted, and attracted ones who are beloved,¹ to the court of saintship, Divine guidance, and perfection, to the closet of propinquity (to God), to the chamber of the grandeur of God, and to the resting-place of the Holiness of the Lord of Majesty. When under the influence of this strong craving after God he used to wander bare-headed and bare-foot in the desert about Dibālpūr,² the dwelling-place of beasts of prey, wild animals, and birds, in a spot now known as Shirgāf :—

Hemistich.

“We are lovers wandering in the plains of Damascus.”³

And sometimes when he went to circumambulate⁴ the blessed shrine of that holy Saint, obeyed of all the world, Ganj-i-Shakar,⁵ (may God sanctify his tomb!) he would there receive signs, and experience happy visions, and engage in conversation and intercourse (with the saint's spirit), a detailed account of which is beyond the limits of this hastily compiled history. They are recounted in detail in the book (known as) *Naghmāt-i-Dā'udī*,⁶ which was written by that cream of saints and fruit of the pure

مُحْبُوبٌ مُجَذِّبٌ وَ مُجَذِّبٌ مُحْبُوبٌ ¹. The pleonasm is unavoidable.

² Or Dipālpūr. The chief town of a *Sarkār* of the same name in the *Šība* of Multān, now the headquarters of the Dipālpūr *Tāhsil* in the Montgomery District, Panjab. *Vide* Hunter's “Imperial Gazetteer” iv. 303. *Aīn-i-Akbarī* (trans. Jarrett), Vol. II, 331 *et passim*, and Raverty's “Mīhrān of Sind,” J. A. S. B., Pt. I., 1892 *passim*.

³ MS. (A) has, wrongly, مُسْتَقِيمٌ وَ مُشَقِّيْمٌ for مُشَقِّيْمٌ وَ مُسْتَقِيمٌ.

⁴ Another instance of the use by Indian Muslims of the practice of circumambulation, which should be restricted to the *Ka'bah*, at the tombs of saints.

⁵ *Vide* suprā, p. 19, n. 1.

⁶ The title of this book, written in honour of Shaikh Dā'ud, evidently bears reference to the psalms of David.

at heart, Shaikh Abū'l Ma'ālī, the son of Shaikh Rahmatu'llab, already mentioned, the date of whose most fortunate birth may be deduced from the words "the beggar of Shaikh Da'ūd,"¹ or from the words "Ahu'l Ma'ālī, the worshipper of the true (God),"² and who is now the successor of Shaikh Miyyān Da'ūd, (may God sanctify his soul!) When he had spent a period of twenty years, or thereabouts, in ecstatic longing after God and wandering over plains and deserts, he was inspired to revert to a regular mode of life³ and to the religious instruction of the people, but since he had had no outward religious instructor and guide he hesitated to undertake the charge, until he was initiated and appointed by his spiritual holiness Ghans 1-A'zam⁴ for the following duty, namely, to assist, for the sake of preserving the spiritual succession, the reverend Shaikh Hamid 1 Qadri (may God sanctify his tomb!) who was the son of Shaikh 'Ahdu'l Qadir the second, and the father of Shaikh 'Ahdu'l Qadir,⁵ who at the time of writing is occupying his venerable father's place in Ucch, by drawing him (more closely) to God. And the late saint, (may God have mercy upon him!) since he had already many times asked for assistance from this disciple, who was after his own heart, and turned to him in every important business, and had asked⁶ that a *fatiha*⁷ might be offered up on his (the late saint's) behalf, delayed to draw up his blessed tree of spiritual succession and to issue a permit for

31.

گذای شیخ دارد 1. 20+4+1+10+300+10+600+4+1+6+4=960

3 ابوالمعالی حق پرست 1+2+6+1+30+40+70+1+30+10+8+100+
2+200+80+400=981 The totals of the two chronograms differ by one. This latter chronogram is given in Abu'l Ma'alī's life, on p. 103 of the text of this volume as the date of his birth, and therefore presumably gives the correct date

سیر و ملوك

4 An instance of the belief among Muslims leading the religious life that something which seems, according to their ideas to correspond to the Sacrament of Orders in the Christian Church, is necessary to enable a man to start as a religious instructor of the people

5 His life is given on p. 91 (text) of this volume (Chapter II, No. XVI)

6 The word انعام is omitted in MS (B) probably by an oversight of the copyist.

7 Prayers offered up for the welfare of any person. Vide 'Qanun-i-Islam,' Ja far Sharif and Herkots, s. v. 'Fatecha neemat khyr kee'

perfecting of disciples until he himself went one day to the town of Satkara,¹ where the saint (may God have mercy upon him!) had many times previously lodged, on which occasion, when under the influence of his ecstatic longing after God, he said, "Here is Shaikh Ghauṣ-i-A'zam (may God be pleased with him!) who has come and signifies that he entrusts to me his prayer-carpet, staff, tree of spiritual succession, horse, covered litter, and all the appurtenances of Shaikh-dom and spiritual leadership." When the saint (may God² sanctify his tomb!) was informed from on high of that occurrence, and when his knowledge of it was afterwards completely confirmed, he entrusted the divine charge committed to him to him whom his soul desired, but who appeared as though he were the seeker (not the sought after), returning from his soaring flight (of ecstasy) to ordinary intercourse (with his fellow creatures), and spread the mat of sojourning in the newly-built town of Shirgāh, near to Chatī,³ and half-way between Multān and Pattan, started a new order, the Qādiriyah,⁴ which is midway between the two exalted orders, Sakrawardiyah and Cishtiyyah,⁵ (blessings on them, all three, from God!) and in the Divine power and by means of close connection with the true God, he so carried forward⁶ the work that the sound issuing therefrom will not die away⁷ until the sounding of the last trump.

When Mullā 'Abdu'l-lāh of Sultānpūr, who was known as Makhdūmu'l-Mulk, girded his loins to strenuous efforts

¹ *Vide supra*, p. 48, n. 6.

² The word اللهم is omitted in MS. (B). As vowel points are not used the reading of MS. (B) is to the same purport as that of the text and MS. (A), but would be literally translated, "May his tomb be sanctified."

³ MS. (B). The text and MS. (A) have بجھنی. *Vide supra*, p. 47, n. 6.

⁴ This order must not be confounded with an older order bearing the same title, instituted in A.H. 561 (A.D. 1165-6) by Sayyid 'Abdu'l-Qādir-i-Jilāni, surnamed Pīr-i-Dastgīr, whose shrine is at Bāghdād. The older order is the most popular religious order among the *Sunnīs* of Asia. Hughes' *Dict. of Islām*, s. v.

⁵ These orders have been already referred to. Following the names of these two orders the text wrongly has و سلسلة قادرية. The conjunction must be omitted to make sense.

⁶ Both MSS. insert اس here, which makes nonsense, and is rightly omitted in the text.

⁷ Both MSS. have پنشیند, but the textual emendation is correct.

in uprooting the men of God,¹ becoming the means of the death of several of them, he sent an imperial order in the name of Salim² Shah Sur, the Afghan, from Gwaliyar, summoning the holy *Miyān* among others, in obedience to which order the *Miyān* set out in haste with one or two attendants, and, meeting Makhdumu'l Mulk, outside Gwaliyar, with marks of the greatest³ respect,⁴ alighted in a spot where he sat down with him, and where a beneficial conversation took place. The pornicious mischief makers, as soon as they witnessed this conversation, fled away to every corner, so that they could not be discovered even by search being made. Makhdum'l Mulk said, "Their report is not on this ground (alone) falsified."⁵ After much talk and conversation the *Shaikh* asked "What was the real motive for summoning us religious mendicants?" Makhdum'l Mulk replied, "I heard that your disciples, when performing the religious exercise of *zikr*, said 'O Da'ud, O Da'ud!'" The *Shaikh* replied "There has probably been some mistake in hearing, owing to a similarity of sounds, or else my followers must have said 'O Wadud, O Wadud!'"⁶ In connection with this matter the *Shaikh* remained for a whole day, or a whole night,⁷

¹ Vide Badoni, Vol I (trans Ranking), pp 513-525 The "men of God" referred to seem to have been the *Makhdawis*.

² مسلم MS (A) The text has the corrupted form *اسليم*

³ تمام omitted in MS (B) The text rightly follows MS (A)

⁴ The text has *نَعْطَمْ وَاحْتِرَامْ*, erroneously Both MSS read *نَعْطِيمْ وَاحْتِرَامْ*

⁵ ارس روی دروغ بیاند MS (A) has *ناید* The text rightly follows MS (B).

⁶ Makhdumu'l Mulk accused *Shaikh* Da'ud of permitting his disciples to address their *zikr* (vide Hughes' Dict. of Islam," s.v.), directly to him (Da'ud) instead of to God. Da'ud rebuts the accusation by asserting that the words actually used, which might conceivably have been mistaken for "O, Da'ud!" were "O, Wadud!" i.e., "O, God!" وَدُود means "loving" الْمَلِكُ الْوَدُود 'the loving King' is one of the titles of God.

⁷ يَكْ رَزْ بَا سَعْدُرُمْ الْمَلِكْ بَا يَكْ شَبْ دَوْدَة The editor of the text appears to be doubtful as to the meaning of the words بَا يَكْ شَبْ دَوْدَة, for he finds it necessary to explain in an apologetic footnote that this is the reading of each of the three MSS to which he had access. It seems to me that the author means to say that Da'ud spent about twelve hours with Makhdum'l Mulk, and that he (the author) cannot say whether the conference began in the morning or in the evening.

bestowing on him sublime exhortations and advice, and imparting to him precious knowledge and facts relating to God.¹ Makh-dūmu-'l-Mulk was much affected and dismissed the *Shaikh* from that place with honour.

On one occasion the austerity and piety of Miyān Hisāmu'-d-din of Talamba,² may God have mercy upon him! (some of whose glorious attributes are mentioned in the *Najātu-'r-Rashīd*) happened to be the subject of conversation in the noble assembly of the *Shaikh*, and he said "Ah, what a pity was it that the *Miyān* failed in personal desire of and love for God, and was the slave of mere morality :—

Hemistich.

"Thou hast kept one thing, and (many) things are lost to thee."

"Beware, at the last,³ from whom thou remainest apart."⁴

The liberality and charity of the *Shaikh*'s disposition were such
 33. that on certain fixed occasions,⁵ either once or twice in the year, he scattered abroad in promiscuous charity⁶ all the money and goods that he had received gratuitously, and he and his chaste wife kept nothing in the cell that was their dwelling but an earthen pot and a piece of old matting, and when he saw that his treasure-chest was full he would again in the same manner disburse its contents in promiscuous charity,⁷ and notwithstanding this (profusion), on the birth-day and feast-day of the holy *Ghaus-i-A'zam* (may God be pleased with him!) all the needs⁸ of the pilgrims, whether of high or low degree, who, to the number of nearly a hundred thousand souls, more or less, were gathered together, were met by disbursements from the alms-chest of his hospice,

1 معارف و حقائق اوجيده.

2 *Vide supra*, p. 3, n. 4.

3 MS. (A) has اگر. The text, rightly following MS. (B), reads آخر.

4 MS. (B) omits باز.

5 The text reads در سه روز چند گاهه. Both MSS. read در سه روز چند گاهه. MS. (B) adds خود after گاهه. This may or may not be an interpolation. It signifies only that the occasions were fixed by the *Shaikh* himself.

6 بتراراج میدادند. MS. (B) adds میدادی, میدادند. I prefer the reading of the text.

7 بیغما میفرمودند. "he ordered a raid (to be made)."

8 مایحتاج الیه. MS. (B) omits الیه.

and that profusion, praise be to God, is still contained, nay rather, is increased many fold. Some of the auspicious utterances of his inspired tongue, the interpreter of divine truths, are as follows¹ —

‘In the name of God, the Director and Guide in the darkness of oceans and deserts’ I have many times seen and experienced the efficiency of this holy saying in positions of fear² and danger. Another is —

“Praised be He in respect of Whoso Essence our thoughts are bewildered,

“Praised be He in respect of the understanding of Whom our understanding soars³

And there are many other examples of such prayers, praises *sahrs* and choice phrases, and the signet ring posy of that holy man, composed by himself, was as follows —

“Da’ud has been effaced in name and trace

“For poverty effaces all traces”

When I, the author of these pages, in the time of Bairām Khan, (that best of times, when India was as a bride,⁴) was a student in Agra, I heard from certain *darvishes* great reports of the *Shāikh*’s noble and majestic attributes, and from that time forward I sowed the seed of attachment to and trust in him in the ground of preparation (for meeting him) and was in secret a slave to this desire (of meeting him)

Hemistich

“Aye, verily⁵ doth the ear, in true lovers, outstrip⁶ the eye”

¹ انسنت, omitted in MS (A)

² معاورہ MS (B) has مخلوقات which does not make sense

³ Both MSS read نظیر, and there is a footnote in the text giving this as the reading of the MSS. It is however, wrong. The reading of the text (قطیر) is probably correct though it is not very good Arabic.

⁴ Badaoni’s abhorrence of the infidelity of Ahu I Faṣl and Akbar’s later advisers causes him to forget his abhorrence of the *Shāikh* tenets of Bairam Khan.

⁵ آری رای MS (B) has رای رای, which is nonsense

⁶ پیش میشود text MS (A) has پیش, which reading I prefer, as it seems to me that پیش would accompany پیش more fitly than پیششود, I have nevertheless translated the phrase by ‘outstrip’ rather than by ‘excel’. The meaning does not suffer. The reading of MS (B) is not distinct.

And at that very time I repeatedly made attempts to go and pay my respects to that holy man, clothing myself in the pilgrim's garment meet for the circumambulation of that threshold around which the angels do go, and set out¹ for Shirgarh (with this object). But sometimes my father, who has now obtained pardon and forgiveness of his sins, withheld me and turned me back in the way, and sometimes I was let by other hindrances, which were the means of disappointing me of the fruition of that good fortune. A period of twelve years passed over me, thus expectant, before one of the servants of that court, Shaikh Kālū by name, a solitary traveller, who had himself² formerly been the means of my secret knowledgo of the Shaikh, like tho humā, from hidden regions cast his shadow on Badāon and its environs, and said to me, "Is it not a pity that the holy Miyān (Shaikh Dā'īnd) should be in the land of the living and that you should (be content to) rest with hope unfulfilled and should not even once see him?" This soul-subduer kindled a fire in my perplexed soul, and the Most High God provided the means (of the fulfilment of my desire), for Muham-mad Husain Khān, in whose³ personal service I was, went in pursuit of Ibrāhim Husain Mirzā from Kānt u Gūla⁴ towards the Panjāb, and the means of attaining that happiness were thus prepared⁵ for me, so that, as has been already mentioned,⁶ I went to Shirgarh from Lāhōr, and saw with my own eyes a portion of the (spiritual) beauty of the holy man—and what possessor of beauty can be compared to him? As he smiled and spoke light sparkled from his teeth,⁷ a light which illuminated the dark abode of the

¹ The verb دَعَى is omitted in both MSS. and rightly inserted in the text.

² The text has طوریہ. Both MSS. read طوریہ, which is correct.

³ اُک wrongly omitted in MS. (A).

⁴ Vide Badāoni, Vol. II .(text), p. 153. These events happened in the year H. 981 (A.D. 1573-4). Kānt u Gūla (Shāhjahānpūr) was Muham-mad Husain Khān's jāgīr.

⁵ مهیا کر دند MS. (B) has مهیا گردید.

⁶ بطوریکہ سابقہ تحریر یافت. (text). Both MSS. have معا بقا. The sense is not affected.

⁷ نوری از ثنایای مبارک ایشان میتافت. The literal translation of this ("a light sparkled from his auspicious incisors") reads so very grotesquely in English that I have softened the expression of Badāoni's almost idolatrous veneration for the Shaikh. In plain English the phrase means no more than that the holy man shewed his teeth when he smiled.

heart, and from which the secret of the Countenance of God was manifested In short for the space of three or four days I acquired some advantage from this transitory life

Few days passed on which Hindus, to the number of fifty or a hundred, more or less (on each day), did not come with their families and kindred to pay their respects to that holy man, receiving the high honour of conversion to Islam, and obtaining instruction in the faith¹. I found the gates and walls and trees and dwellings of that delectable town filled with the sound of the telling of rosaries and the reciting of God's praises, and the *Shaykh* bestowed on me his auspicious cup saying,² 'Be³ thou my deputy to thine own people, for (thus to appoint a deputy) is my wont,' and he sent a kerchief and a veil from his chaste wife⁴ to my wives⁵ and children, and when I made a representation to him, saying, "If you bestow on me the gift of a shirt, it will be light upon light" After some reflection he said "That also will arrive in due time" Having disclosed to him some of the secrets of my heart and my designs and intentions, I endeavoured to obtain leave to depart At this point⁶ that holy man left his *masjid* in his closed travelling litter, owing to his great weakness, and set out for my first halting place I, taking the pole of the litter on my shoulder, walked for some paces with it While I was thus employed a powerful fit of weeping overcame me, and the *Shaykh*, stopping the litter, said 'Put me down' He alighted and sat down and spoke so much of the knowledge and love of God, the Most High, that my agitation redoubled One day, at the time of

¹ Badaoni's enthusiasm probably leads him into some exaggeration here Taking the number fifty or a hundred to be about seventy five and supposing that these conversions were made on two hundred days in each year—a very mild rendering of the author's statement—we should have a result of 15,000 converts per annum

² The text rightly follows MS (B) with درجه درجه می (A) has درجه درجه، which is incorrect

³ MS (B) incorrectly omits the word داشت

⁴ *Ist* 'the folk of the house of purity,' a circumlocution in strict accordance with Muslim etiquette

⁵ The text reads علیہا Both MSS have علیہما, which I prefer

⁶ MS (B) has درینه درینه عیان، a miss spelling due to the employment, in speaking, of the *wa* & *ha*

leave-taking, I represented, through Miyān 'Abdu-'l-Wahhāb, one of the Shaikh's sincere companions, (to whom is applicable the text), "Blessedness awaiteth them and a goodly home,"¹ that a report was current among the holy men of Hindustān that the time for the rising of a religious leader was at hand, that most of that body, (*i.e.*, the holy men,) concurred in fixing on one of the Sayyids of that country, whose ancestors had formerly been seated on the throne of empire in Dihli and Badāon for some time,² that they were engaged in making preparations for a holy war and in collecting arms,³ that they professed to have received directions⁴ from the holy Ghauṣ-i-A'zam⁵ (may God be pleased with him!) to engage in this affair, and that they had implicated with themselves some of the *Amīrs* on the frontier, and that some of them professed to have received supernatural encouragement during their assemblies and when they were in difficulties, and purposed to bring the object of their desire to an issue. The Shaikh asked me, "What

36. is that *Sayyid*'s mode of life, and condition?" I said "He is a man who lives a retired life, in holy poverty,⁶ conformably to the sacred law, a recluse and an ascetic who has resigned himself to God, passing most of his days among the tombs (of holy men) and his nights in his cell in worship and submission to God, but he is a

طوبی لِم و حُسْن مَآبٌ ^{۹۰۰}. Qur'aṇ XIII. 28.

² This was evidently a descendant of Sultān 'Alā'u-d-Dīn ibn-i-Muhammad Shāh ibn-i-Mubārak Shāh ibn-i-Khizr Khān, the last Emperor of the Sayyid dynasty. *Vide* Badāoni, Vol. I. (trans. Ranking), pp. 400-402. This dynasty was not exterminated as was the usual custom when an usurpation of the throne took place, but the last Emperor was, in accordance with his own request, permitted by Bahlūl Lōdī, the usurper, to retire to Badāon. It seems that Badāoni himself, disgusted with the fashionable infidelity, favoured the claims of this pretended *Mahdī*.

³ omitted in MS. (B).

⁴ مَوْرِيزْ مَا. MS (B) has مَارِيزْ مَا, which is nonsense.

⁵ *Vide* suprā for the biography of Ghauṣ-i-A'zam. MS. (B) has the Arabic form Ghauṭhu'-l-A'ḍham.

⁶ The text here has the particle ^و, which is in neither MS. Its interpolation is unidiomatic.

man of good family,¹ unrivalled and incomparable in his knowledge of the military art, of excellent moral character and following a most worthy mode of life" The Shaikh said "The members of that body (i.e., the holy men), are no true *da'wishes*, in that they so traduce the holy Ghaus,² and do him violence now that he can no longer help himself,³ and those spiritual encouragements and signs are all part of the delusions of Satan, for how could the holy Ghaus (may God be pleased with him⁴) countenance such matters as this, he whose rule it always was that the people should expel the love of the world from their hearts, and, in all candour and sincerity, should set their faces towards the love of God, the Most High, abandoning vain desires and lusts, and not that one should turn aside from the path of worship, asceticism and holy endeavour to fall again into the net of the world, which is the enemy of God? Say to that *Sayyid* from me, "May God the Most High vouchsafe to you grace to stand fast in the path which you hold. If the least suspicion of any desire for evanescent delights remains (in your heart), it behoves you to strive to overcome it, and not to be beguiled by the impostures and misrepresentations of a bewildered band of know nothings⁵ thereby straying from the path. Though the lover of the world should attain to kingship,—the supreme object of worldly men, and the seeker after the (sensual) joys of paradise⁶ should reach the rewards bestowed by the Everlasting God, that is, the maidens and mansions⁶ of the next world, and

قیلاده دار ¹ Possibly ' a married man with a family ' but I prefer the translation which I have given, on account of what follows. The assertion that the religious *Sayyid* was a married man would make the statement that he was acquainted with the art of war a non sequitur. The assertion that he is of imperial descent gives a reason for his knowledge of that art.

● 2 The text here inserts **وَرَاهِيَّا** ^{وَرَاهِيَّا} These words are in neither MS and I have omitted them

3 ^{وَرَاهِيَّا} آن بیچاره میریدد ^{lit.} "commit highway robbery on that helpless one" De mortuis nil nisi bonum

4 ^{وَرَاهِيَّا} نادان ^{مع پرشان}. The paradox contained in the expression cannot well be expressed in English.

5 ^{وَرَاهِيَّا} آخون (B) has طالب آخون, evidently a copyist's error. The context clearly shews that this expression is used here for one who is religious solely for the purpose of attaining to the sensual joys promised to good Muslims in the next world.

6 The text has **حَوْرَقُصُور** Both MSS have the conjunction **و**, which the sense requires.

the lover of God¹ should die of grief from the utter hopelessness of attaining his object, yet is the disappointment of this last a thousand-fold² better and more happy than the fruition and
 37. attainment of desire experienced by the former two classes of poor-spirited men." And the Shaikh, speaking on this subject, scattered amongst us so many jewels of profitable advice that pearl-like tears began to fall from the eyes of those that heard him, upon the skirts of their robes, and, that (worldly) object being forgotten, we were thrown into quite a different frame of mind, one above description, and³ in that state of burning anguish I bade the Shaikh adieu, uttering cries of grief.

"My heart, in the hope that one cry might perchance reach thee,

"Has uttered in this mountain lamentations such as were never uttered by Farhād."

And since the roads between Lāhōr and Shīrgāh were, in consequence of the rebellion⁴ of the Ulugh Baig Mīrzās,⁵ closed, both at the time of my going to Shīrgāh and at the time of my return, and as I was alone, the Shaikh gave me an attendant as a guide, who was to take me to Shaikh Abū Ishāq-i-Mihrang in Lāhōr,⁶ one of the most noted of the holy man's deputies, in order that he might arrange to send me with a caravan to the army of Husain Khān, which had come to Lāhōr from Tālambā, and was to proceed thence to Kānt-u-Gūla. "When I reached Lāhōr I set out for Hindustān with Husain Khān's men." I was

¹ *I.e.*, he who loves God for His own sake, irrespective of any hope of reward. Cf. S. Francis Xavier's hymn, "O Deus, ego amo te!"

² هزار بار. Both MSS. have هزار هزار. The reading of the text appears to me to be preferable.

³ The text omits و, though both MSS. have it.

⁴ فدرات. (B) has قدرات, which makes nonsense.

⁵ I understand this phrase to mean the Mīrzās who were, with their relative Ulugh Mīrzā (not Ulugh Baig Mīrzā, who was a younger brother of 'Umar Shaikh Mīrzā and uncle of Bābar) in rebellion.

⁶ His biography is given on p. 48 (text) of this volume, but no reference is made to the title صهرنگ. In the reading I follow MS. (A). The text and MS. (B) have میکونگ. The *dīn-i-Akbarī* (Calcutta text I. 233) reads فرنگ.

sitting one day at our halting-place at Saharanpur¹ in a garden, consumed with grief at my separation from that holy man, when a traveller brought to me a *Qādirī*² shirt, which he had in his hand, saying, "Take this, which I received from the hand of a venerable saint, and give me something to help me on my way."³ When I questioned him as to the truth of the matter he said, "When Mirzā Ibrāhim Ḥnsain met with that mischance⁴ I, with a party of his troops, overwhelmed with misfortune and a prey to plunderers, arrived stripped and naked at Shirgāh, where we attached ourselves to the holy saint, our helper, and he gave something to each of us. When my turn came round he took this shirt off his blessed body, and bestowed it upon me. I, thinking that it would be irreverent to wear it, deposited it in safe custody, with a view to taking it away to some place as a rare gift, and now I leave it with you" I received from him that mysteriously conveyed gift, that treasure wafted to me by the wind, as though it had been a blessing and benediction.

38.

Verses

The perfume of thy shirt has reached me,
 My soul was ravished by that sweet odour
 I had offered a *fātihah*⁵ for union with thee,
 Praise be to God that my *fātihah* was accepted

And, rememhering the word that he had spoken, I regarded this occurrence as a miracle,⁶ and I now presereve that Joseph's coat⁷ as I preserve my life—and praise be to God for all this!

¹ The chief town of the *Sarkar* of the same name in the *Sabā* of Delhi. Now the headquarters of the District of the same name in the N. W. P.

² This expression seems to have puzzled the editor of the text, for he appends a footnote stating that it occurs in all the three MSS. to which he had access. The *Qādirī* shirt was probably a shirt of a distinctive pattern or cut, worn by the *Qādiriyah* order of ascetics, founded by *Shaikh Dā'ud*.

³ بارہ حرج را Both MSS. have, wrongly, بارہ حرج را.

⁴ Scul when his army was defeated at Talambā. *Vide* Badāoni, text, vol. II., pp. 157, 158.

⁵ A prayer for the attainment of an object, the recitation of the ﷺ or first chapter of the *Qur'an* being part of the exercise.

⁶ It is quite possible that the soldier may have been instructed by *Shaikh Dā'ud* to deliver the shirt to Badāoni, without mentioning that he was merely a messenger.

⁷ Lit. "Joseph's shirt." The reference is obvious.

Verses.

And as I have been the companion of desire for his excellency
From the cradle, I hope that (that desire) will continue to
the grave.

Verses.

Desire for thee within my mind, and love for thee within my
heart,

Did enter me with mother's milk, and with my life will leave
me.

The following is a brief account of that holy man. He was the cynosure¹ of his time, an inspired prophet, and a worker of wonders and manifest miracles, giving clear proofs of his sanctity.² He had undergone severe discipline³ and in holy endeavour had striven much. In early life⁴ he acquired exoteric knowledge and had also been engaged in teaching. He had resigned himself to God and lived an eremite, going never to the houses of worldly men but once, when in obedience to the (royal) command he went from Shīrgāh to Gwāliyār to see Salim Shāh,⁵ and although the *Khalīfah* of the age,⁶ when he was proceeding to Patan sent Shahbāz Khān⁷ to summon the *Shaikh* to bestow on him the honour of a visit, the *Shaikh* made his excuses, saying,

39. "My secret prayers are sufficient." He avoided to the utmost of his power the companionship of the lords of the earth,

¹ قطب, literally "the pole-star," "the pivot on which everything turns, or the point of attraction." "Cynosure," as used by Milton, fairly represents the sense in English.

² The text has حجّ. MS. (B) has حجّ, and MS. (A) has حجّ, which has been altered to حجّ. حجّ is without doubt the true reading.

³ The text follows MS. (A) with يغت. (B) has دیاغت.

⁴ بدبایت—Text and MS. (A). MS. (B) has بدبایت, which is wrong.

⁵ Vide *suprā*, p. 53, n. 2. The text has the corrupted form مسلمان, also the MSS.

⁶ Scil. the Emperor Akbar, who went to Gujrat in A.H. 981 (A.D. 1573-4).

⁷ Shahbāz Khān-i-Kambū. Vide Āīn-i-Akbarī I. (trans. Blochmann's) 399. Shahbāz Khān was probably selected for the mission as being, himself, of a holy family.

investing himself with the cloak of "Poverty is my glory."¹ He was constant in almsgiving, and in pointing out to searchers after truth the path of holiness, and whosoever was so aided by fortune as to be led to the *Shaikh* received great profit from the precious utterances of that blessing of the age and cynosure² of the world. In the year H 982 (A.D. 1574-5) his tent was pitched under the curtain of the Majesty of God the Most High, and in the Court of union with Him, may His glory be exalted! The words "Ah, *Shaikh* Da'ud the Saint"³ were found to give the date (of his death). May God bestow upon him His boundless mercy, and raise us with him in that honour when all shall be gathered together.⁴

XVII. *SHAIKH*⁵ ABAN OF AMROHA⁶

He was a traveller in the path (of righteousness) and was mysteriously attracted (by the love of God), but notwithstanding this he neglected not one jot of the observances of the pure Law.⁷ Many miracles are related as having been performed

¹ A saying of Muhammad. It is related that a beggar came to Muhammad complaining that he was poor. Muhammad replied 'Poverty is my glory.' Shortly afterwards a second beggar approached with the same complaint. Muhammad replied, "Poverty is disgrace both in this world and the next." On being asked by his companions how these two apparently contradictory sayings could be reconciled he said, "Did ye not see that the first man had forsaken the world, while the second had been forsaken by the world?"

² قلۃ, the point towards which all face in prayer. "Cynosure" does not literally translate either *قلۃ* or *قطب* (*vide supra*) but it is the nearest word we have in English to these words in the sense in which they occur in the text.

³ شیخ داود ولی ۱۰+۱+۳۰۰+۱۰+۶۰۰+۴+۱+۶+۴+۶+۳۰+۱۰=۹۸۲

⁴ For another account of Badaoni's visit to this saint *vide* Badaoni, vol II (text), pp. 156, 157. Husain Khan Badaoni a patron, also visited him about the same time, *vide* Badaoni II, 156.

⁵ A footnote in the text gives "Sayyid" as a variant, but both MSS. have "*Shaikh*".

⁶ A pargana town in the sarkar of Sambhal, Suba Delhi. *Vide* An-i-Albari, vol II (trans Jarrett) 289.

⁷ That is to say that the *Shaikh*, though a *Sufi*, observed the ceremonial and ritual law. This is mentioned as something uncommon for *Sufis* because that their supposed close union with God absolves them from the obligation of such observances.

by him. He lived and received disciples without pomp or ceremony. When I after waiting upon the holy Miyān Shaikh Dā'ūd¹ (may his honoured tomb be sanctified!) was returning from the Panjāb and travelled to Badāon by way of Amroha, I paid my respects to the *Sayyid* already mentioned.² He read a verse from the glorious word (of God), and delivered an address, not on any fixed theme,³ but now and again he would turn to me and make some remarks on the excellence of the reward and recompense⁴ reserved for the long-suffering, and he quoted the blessed text "But good works, which are lasting..."⁵ and so on to the end of the verse. And it afterwards⁶ became manifest that this was an indication of the occurrence of a calamity which happened to me. The facts were briefly thus: I had a daughter,

¹ Vide supra, in the account of Shaikh Dā'ūd's life (No. XVI).

² See Shaikh Aban. His being here styled "the *Sayyid*" may account for the variant referred to in note 5 on the preceding page.

³ لا على التعين, may be translated either as above, or by "not by appointment," which would mean that the discourse was not one of a regular series or delivered at a time when the Shaikh was in the habit of delivering an address. The text and MS. (B) have التعين, MS. (A) has التعيين, which is better.

⁴ اجر. MS. (B) has اجز, evidently a copyist's error.

⁵ وَالْبَاقِيَاتُ الصَّالِحَاتُ خَيْرٌ عِنْدَ رَبِّكَ تَوَابًا وَخَيْرٌ أَمْلَا.

• Sūrah XVIII. 44.

وَالْبَاقِيَاتُ الصَّالِحَاتُ خَيْرٌ عِنْدَ رَبِّكَ تَوَابًا وَخَيْرٌ أَمْلَا

"But good works, which are lasting, are better in the sight of thy Lord as to recompence, and better as to hope."

And in Sūrah XIX. 79.

وَالْبَاقِيَاتُ الصَّالِحَاتُ خَيْرٌ عِنْدَ رَبِّكَ تَوَابًا وَخَيْرٌ مَوْدًا

"And good works, which are lasting, are better in the sight of thy Lord as to recompence, and better in the issue (than all worldly possessions)."

It was probably the second of those two texts that the Shaikh quoted, for the former is but a portion of a verse, while the latter is a complete verse. There is, however, no real difference between the meanings of the two passages. There is a difference of one word only in the Arabic and this difference in no way alters the sense in either case.

بعد از این بعده از آن ها. MS. (A) has بعد از آن ها.

whom I dearly loved, and while I was on this journey ¹ she passed away in Badaou from this deceitful world. Probably those consoling subjects were (mentioned) for the comfort of my heart—but God knows all ¹ 40

The *Shaikh*'s death occurred in the year H. 987 (A D 1579)

XVIII KHAJA 'ABDU 'SH SHAHID

He was the orthodox successor of Khajagan² Khaja who was the true successor of the holy Khaja yi Ahrar (may God sanctify their souls!) When Khaja 'Abdu 'sh Shahid was born he was taken to the holy Khaja yi Ahrar, who took him in his arms and said "He will be a wise man" The revered Khaja was perfect both in outward appearance and in inward qualities³ He practised severe austerities,⁴ striving much in the path of holiness, and was a compendium of all such perfection as man can attain to The people acquired grace from the precious utterances of that model of virtuous men, being directed thereby in the path of righteousness and godly living⁵ He walked in the footsteps of the holy Khaja yi Ahrar (may God sanctify his tomb!)

Coming from Samarcand to India he remained here for eighteen years, and in the year H 982 (A D 1574 5) he said, "The time of my departure draws nigh, and I have been commanded to convey this handful of bones, of which I am composed, to the burying place of my ancestors in Samarcand." He then set out for Samarcand, and on his arrival at Kabul it happened that Mirza Shah Rukh had just taken the people of Kabul captive, and was returning with them to Badakhshan⁶. By means of the intercession of the Khaja nearly ten thousand persons obtained deliverance from the bonds of tyrants and oppressors. Two or

¹ The particle *as* is wrongly omitted from the text, which follows MS. (B). The reading of MS. (A) is correct.

² The text and (B) have حواحن which makes no sense as a name, unless we take it to be a corruption consequent on the use of the word حواحن which is the correct reading, as in M^q. (A)

⁸ Or perhaps, in exoteric and esoteric knowledge.

* The text follows MS (A) with وَمُكَبَّلٌ, (B) has وَمُكَبَّلٌ.

⁵ The text and MS (B) have طریقہ ملوك MS (A) has طریقہ و ملوك The difference does not affect the sense.

⁶ Vide 'Ain-i-Akbari' vol I (trans. Blochman), p 312.

41.

three days after his arrival in Samarqand he bade farewell to this evanescent world,¹ and was buried beside his noble ancestors. The Khāja's dignity is so high² that there is no necessity to attempt to establish it by a recital of the wonders and miracles worked by that essence of perfect qualities. The writer of these lines saw from afar the comeliness of the holy Khāja when he came to bid farewell to the Khalīfah of the age, on the occasion when the Imperial Camp, at the time of its return from Patna³ had arrived⁴ in the district of Bhūngāoñ and Paṭiyāli⁵ but I did not attain to the happiness of attending⁶ on him, or to the good fortune of approaching⁷ him. The peace of God be upon him and upon⁸ his noble ancestors.

XIX. SHAIKH ADHAN OF JAUNPŪR.⁹

(*On him be God's mercy and acceptance.*)

He was the disciple of his own venerable father, Shaikh Bahā'u-d-dīn, of the *Cishṭī*¹⁰ order, who was, in his time, deferred

¹ MS. (B) has for فانی جہان which is correct, فانی جہانی which is altogether incorrect.

² MS. (B) has, for عالیتہر عالیتہر, which does not make sense.

³ This is spelt دنیا in both MSS. a spelling which is quite correct in Persian, in which language the letter د does not exist. The editor of the text has Indianized it into دنیا.

⁴ MS. (A) has بود رسیده. The text and MS. (B) omit the auxiliary. The reading of MS. (A) is preferable.

⁵ Two pargana towns in the *sarkār* of Kanauj, Śūba Āgra. *Vide A. A. II.* (trans. Jarrett), pp. 184, 185.

⁶ ملازمت wrongly omitted from MS. (B).

⁷ مجاورت. MS. (B) has, instead, مجاورت, which would mean "holding converse with." I have adopted the reading of MS. (A), followed in the text, (A) being, in my opinion, a better authority to follow than (B). Apart from the question of authority I see no reason to prefer مجاورت to مجاورت.

⁸ These words (علی) (وعلی) are omitted from MS. (B). Their omission destroys the sense.

⁹ The principal town of the *sarkār* of the same name in the Śūba of Ilāhābās or Ilāhābād. It was for a time the capital of a Muhammadian kingdom. It is now the head-quarters station of the Jaunpūr District, N.-W. P.

¹⁰ This order has been already described.

to¹ by the holy men of the age. He reached the full period of man's natural life,² nay, he exceeded it, for his sons, being seventy or eighty years of age, attended him, likewise his grandsons, in their degrees.³ He spent the best part of his life wholly and completely in worship and in acquiring the knowledge of God.

Although he had acquired much exoteric knowledge, yet he never gave instruction therein. He possessed to the highest degree perception of God, a keen longing after ecstatic songs and dances, and the faculty of being overcome by religious ecstasy.⁴ In spite of his bodily feebleness, and constitutional weakness, and the languor which prevailed over all his limbs, which were such that he could hardly arise from his couch⁵ to perform the ceremonial ablutions, the prayers and other⁶ necessary acts without the assistance of his attendants, yet, whenever he heard the strains⁷ of holy song he would arise in ecstasy and would involuntarily⁸ join in the dance, with such violence and strength that several persons could not, by their bodily power, restrain him.⁹ Similarly in the case of the ritual prayers, he would perform the recitation of the sayings of Muhammad and the supererogatory prayers¹⁰ in a sitting posture, and after he

¹ مَنْدَدٌ Lit. "He who is followed" MS (B) wrongly omits the verb
مند

² طَبِيعِي عَمْرٍ طَبِيعِي MS (A) has wrongly,

³ قِيَامٌ قِيَامٌ A free translation of

⁴ حَالَتْ وَسَعَى دُرْقَ وَسَعَى وَحَالَتْ These Sufiistic terms have already been explained

Vide *Iftahatu's-Sufiyyah* (Sprenger). It is possible that the word درق may be used here in its ordinary sense in which case the words "perception of God" would be omitted from the translation

⁵ آرَامٌ مَحَلٌ "The place where he took his ease"

⁶ MS (B) wrongly inserts the conjunction , here, destroying the sense of the passage

⁷ آوازٌ اَوْ اَوازٌ 1, for which (B) has, incorrectly,

⁸ طَاقَتِي بَيْ طَاقَتِي 2, a most clumsy phrase, which I cannot believe to be the correct reading, though both MSS, followed by the text, have it. The expression, clumsy and unidiomatic as it is, may have been used ironically, in which case the meaning of the passage would be "He displayed such weakness in his caperings that etc."

⁹ MS (A) omits اَوْ

¹⁰ مَنْدَنْ وَمَوْافِلٌ 3 Exercises not enjoined on all, but practised by such as lay claim to sanctity.

had been lifted up and had been placed in the posture for commencing the ritual prayers¹ he performed them standing, without any need of help. And it is matter of common notoriety that miracles, which came as naturally to him as eating and drinking,
42. were performed by him without any ostentation. He left a numerous progeny, of auspicious disposition, and his wise sons, gray-bearded men, used to sit on either side of him in his illustrious assembly, for the purpose of receiving instruction, in such numbers that he who entered would be in doubt as to which was the holy *Shaikh* and which were his offspring. He compiled so many treatises of his sayings regarding the divine law, the path of holiness, and the Truth, that they are beyond the reckoning of ordinary people, nay of most of those who are specially endowed,² nor can the hand of any imperfect and lewd person even touch the skirt of the interpreter of those divine secrets.

The following fact (also) gave rise to suspicion, namely, that when the *Khalifah* of the Age led his forces on the second occasion against Jaunpūr,³ with a view to repelling and overthrowing his enemies, and there yet remained a three days' journey between the Imperial camp and Jaunpūr, the *Shaikh* died in the city,⁴ drawing over the face of his existence the veil of concealment from this transitory world, and becoming thereby the verifier of (the text):—"Nay, rather, they are living in the sight of their Lord."⁵

The writer of these pages never had the honour of waiting upon that pattern for the world.⁶

حَرِيَّةٌ مِّي بَسْت ۱

خَوَاعِنْ ۲. Badāoni is evidently referring to those learned in theological bibliography.

8 The expedition against Jaunpūr in 968 A.H. (A.D. 1561) must be the one referred to here. The date does not coincide with the date of the *Shaikh's* death, and I am unable to account for the discrepancy. I can find no mention of an expedition against Jaunpūr in A.H. 970. *Vide* Badāoni II. (text), 48, 49.

بَلْدَهُ مَذْكُورَهُ ۴. MS. (A') has **بَلْدَهُ مَذْكُورَهُ**, which is more elegant.

5 *Qur'ān* iii. 163. The whole verse:—

وَلَا تَحْسِبُنَ الَّذِينَ قُتِلُوا فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ أَمْوَاتًا بَلْ أَحْيَاءٌ عِنْدَ رَبِّهِمْ يَرْزُقُونَ -

"And repute not those slain on God's path to be dead: Nay, rather, alive with their Lord they are provided for."

۶ آفَاق. Lit. "horizons."

His death occurred in the year H 970 (A D 1562 3) and the words "Shaikh Adhan"¹ were found to give the date of his death.

XX SHAIKH 'ABDU 'L GHAFUR OF A'ZAMPUR

A'zampur² is a *pargana* town in the *Sarikar* of Samhal. The Shaikh was the disciple of Shaikh 'Abdu l-Quddūs, of the *Cishti* order.³ He was perfect both in form and in inward qualities. He underwent severe discipline and strove⁴ much in the way of holy endeavour. Divine grace was his companion in the following of the footsteps of the holy seal of prophecy,⁵—may God bless and give peace to him and his family!⁶ He used very soon to obtain influence over any one who was thrown into his company, and how little adaptable soever a student might be, the attractions of the Shaikh would carry him beyond himself and would make him, even against his will,⁶ inclined to the Shaikh's service.

The Shaikh spent most of his time in giving instruction in religious knowledge. His eloquent words were peace to the turbulent heart, and his wonder working tongue balm to the longing soul. In beauty of form and sweeteness of disposition he was chief among his contemporaries. He received disciples and exhorted and advised the people. He wrote treatises on the mysticism of the *Sufis*. In truth there can be no manner of doubt as to the Shaikh's perfectness of body and mind. After plaiting his footsteps within the circumference of (what is understood by the saying) "Octogenarians are God's own freed men,"⁷ he took his departure, in the course of the year H 985

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¹ $300 + 10 + 600 + 1 + 4 + 5 + 50 = 970$

² Vide *Am-i Akbars* II (trans Jarrett), 289

³ A short account of this order has already been given

⁴ MS (B) wrongly omits the word **كرو** here

⁵ I.e. Muhammad styled the seal of the prophets" as being the last to whom a divine revelation is to be entrusted. The expression **حُنْيِ بَلَى** cannot be literally translated into English. It signifies one in whom the sealing or completion of prophecy finds its refuge—a clumsy phrase in English but very concise and expressive in Persian.

⁶ **بِ احتِيَار**

⁷ That is, freed from sin. This is one of the "sayings" of Muhammad.

(A.D. 1577-8) for the eternal mansions, and was buried in A'zampūr. May God magnify his dignity!

XXI. MIYĀN VAJĪHU'D-DĪN OF AHMADĀBĀD.¹

He was descended² of the line of 'Ali, but he was not wont to proclaim his descent, on account of his being a foreigner.³ He was one of the greatest of the learned men of the age, excelling in devotion, piety, and holy endeavour,⁴ turning not aside from the path of the law, and, firmly seated in the corner of contentment, was constantly occupied in giving religious⁵ instruction. His grasp of all branches of knowledge, both of those which demand the exercise of the reasoning faculty and of those which depend upon the memory,⁶ was such that there was hardly a standard work, from light treatises on accident⁷ to books of law and medicine and the commentary on the *Miftāh*⁸ and the *Aṣulī*.⁹

¹ The capital of Gujarāt.

² نسب. Both MSS. have *نسبت*, but the emendation in the text appears to be correct. If the reading of the MSS. be correct then we have an additional reason for the *Miyān's* refusal to claim descent from 'Ali. Vide the following note.

³ So I understand بُجَيْهَتْ غَرَبَاتْ. The meaning seems to be that the *Shaikh's* ancestors had so long ago left Arabia that he wisely refrained from claiming a descent which was perhaps not borne out by documentary evidence and was not likely to be generally accepted. It may be that the *Miyān's* descent was in the female line, in which case he would not rank as a *Sayyid*.

⁴ MS. (B) has مُجَاهِدٌ for مُجَاهِدٌ. This is clearly a copyist's error.

⁵ دینی, in neither MS. I am not aware of the authority for its insertion in the text, but it seems to me to be correct.

⁶ علوم عقلی و نقلی. The Persian phrase cannot be neatly and concisely translated into English.

⁷ صرف هروائی. This expression has puzzled me and the translation is conjectural. I have consulted learned Persians and natives of India on the subject. Shamsu'l-'Ulāmā *Shaikh* Mahmūd-i-Gilānī suggests صرف نوائی but I can learn of no book with this title. I am of opinion that the reading of the text and MSS. is certainly wrong.

⁸ *Miftāhu'l-'Ulāmā* (clavis doctrinarum). Vide Vol. I. (trans. Rankin), 428, note 2.

⁹ El-Adhodi, libor Adhodi grammaticus, quem Ima'm Ali (Hamād Ben Ahmed) Farsi Grammaticus, anno [377 (inc. 3. M. u. 957)] mortuus, prius i Adhod-ed-deulet composit. H.K. s158.

which he had not either written a commentary on or annotated, and the people were continually profited by his auspicious sayings, God, may He be praised, is known by his epithet, "the Healer," and He made the *Miyān* a manifestation of that name, so that every day the sick and afflicted, in countless numbers,¹ used to wait upon him and beseech him to pray for them, and would speedily experience the effects of that prayer. He never went of his own accord to the houses of worldly men, but only once or twice in the course of his life, and then in obedience to a summons, and unwillingly.² He did not even leave his house and private *masjid* for the Friday congregational prayers.

His house was the resort of the greatest and best men of the age. In his dress and mode of life he was in no way distinguished from the common people, and contented himself with coarse raiment, distributing in charity whatever he received by way of alms.

He received his religious instruction from Shaikh Muhammad Ghans⁴ and followed his rule, although he had been the accredited disciple of another. He completed his studies with the Shaikh, drinking deeply and with relish of the fount of *Sufi*ism.

When Shaikh Muhammad Ghans went from Hindustan to Gujarat, in the reign of Sultan Mahmud of Gujarat,⁵ Shaikh 'Ali Mutaqqi,⁶ one of the greatest Shaikhs, most influential religious leaders and greatest sages of that time, wrote a *fatwa*.⁷

¹ The text has لَا تَعْدُ لَا تَصْفِي, making حَمْع feminine. The reading of the MSS لَا تَعْدُ لَا تَصْفِي is correct.

² MS (A) has وَ after كَرِيز. The text (B) omit it.
³ مُسَادِدَة قَدْمَار مَسَادِدَة is the reading of both MSS and of the text. It does not make sense, and seems to me to be a copyist's error for كَلْبَنَى. As such I have treated it. MS (B) has قَدْمَنَى for قَدْمَى. The latter is correct. The fact here stated is mentioned to shew the *Miyān*'s great dislike of publicity. According to the Muhammadan ritual law the Friday prayers should be recited in the congregation, i.e., in the public *masjid*.

⁴ No III *supra*.

⁵ I.e., during the reign of Shir Shah in Delhi. It was in consequence of Shir Shah's ill treatment of him that Muhammad Ghans fled to Gujarat. *Vide supra* in the account of Muhammad Ghans No III.

⁶ MS (B) wrongly reads مِيقَى for مِيقَى.

⁷ A legal decision delivered by a recognized doctor of the law on any point of the Muhammadan ritual or religious law. The *fatwa* in this case would probably declare that Muhammad Ghans was worthy of death as a heretic, the execution of the sentence being left to the secular power.

In company with the friends of Mir Sayyid Muḥammad (may God sanctify his soul!) who had¹ set up a claim to being the *Mahdī* and¹ had travelled to Gujārāt and the Dakhan, the *Miyān* at last adopted those opinions,² and in the reign of Salim Shāh, spent his time, in the manner already mentioned,³ in Biyāna, in the corner of obscurity and retirement, living without pretensions and without ceremony, being, like ordinary men, free from encumbrances and attachments. And when Islem (Salim) Shāh, as has been mentioned in the case of *Shaikh* ‘Alā’i of Biyāna—may God have mercy upon him!—bitterly persecuted him, being prompted thereto by *Makhdūmu-l-Mulk*, and had him severely beaten, with a view to preventing him (from preaching his doctrines),⁴ he again set forth on his wanderings, travelling in various parts of the world, and in the latter years of his life he abandoned (his belief in Mir Sayyid Muḥammad’s) claim to being the *Mahdī*, and, retreating⁵ into a corner of retirement in Sirhind, followed the same mode of life as other holy men.

When the Emperor rebuilt that cell which was near the Imperial palace he named it the ‘ibādat-khāna (place of worship), and, the name of *Miyān* ‘Abdu-llāh being mentioned in connection with it, he was summoned from Sirhind, and had a personal interview with the Emperor, no other person being present, and

46. His Majesty put questions to him.⁶ The *Miyān*, disavowing (any belief in) the *Mahdawī* doctrines, said, “At first the companionship of that sect seemed good to me, and I accordingly inclined to their doctrines, but after that the truth concerning

¹ The words بود و are wrongly omitted from MS. (B). This MS. also has بگجرات در for بگجرات در.

² I.e., the opinions of those who believed Mir Sayyid Muḥammad to be the *Mahdī*. The words are دین طہان، for which MS. (B) has دین طہران، which is pure nonsense.

³ Vide vol. I. (trans. Ranking), pp. 518–520 for an account of the persecution of *Miyān* (or *Shaikh*, as he is there called) ‘Abdu-llāh by Salim Shāh, at the instigation of *Makhdūmu-l-Mulk*.

⁴ Vide the reference in the last note for an account of the persecution of the *Mahdawīs* by Salim Shāh.

⁵ Lit. “choosing.”

⁶ خبرها پرمیبدند. MS. (B) has چیزها. The dots in MS. (A) are placed at random, but the word there seems to be چیزها.

the True God was revealed to me, and I recanted" His Majesty sent him back with honour, and in the year H 993 (A.D. 1585) at the time of the expedition to Atah,¹ when His Majesty reached Sirhind, he again sent for the *Miyān*, and offered him some land as *madad i ma'āsh*,² but he, making contentment his title-deed,³ would not accept it, but the Emperor had the grant made out, whether the *Miyān* would or no, and had it delivered to him, and he, obeying the Emperor's order, received the *farman*, but nevertheless forsook not his habit of relying on God alone, and did not in any way concern himself with the grant throughout his life. He made the books *Ihya*⁴ and *Kimiyyā*⁵ the guides of his actions. In the year in which Ulngh Mirza's rebellion took place I was with Muhammad Husain Khan. I saw the *Miyān* in Sirhind, and he gave me some profitable lessons from⁶ the *Ihya*, which he had with him.⁷ A friend of his, named Mahmud Khan, who had been intimate with him since the days of Islam (Salim) Shah, and to whom Shaikh Muharak, at the time of the persecution⁸ of Shaikh 'Ala⁹ had given the title of Saifn 'llah ("the sword of God"), asked him, "What is the heart?"¹⁰

1 Vide vol II (text), pp. 347 et seqq. Also Akbarnama (text), III 485 et seqq.

2 *I.e.*, land to be held in *amā* tenure, for his subsistence.

3 *I.e.*, "to what he had," and no more.

4 This book was the *Ihya u 'Ulum: dīn*. "Ihys claram ed dīn, doctrinārum religionis vivificatio, auctore Imām Shafīta Ḥojjat el islam Abu Hamid Mohammed Ben Mohammed Ghazal, mortuo in urbe Tūs anno 505 (iac 10 Jul 1111)" H K No 171, where a full account of the book is given.

5 The *Kimiyyā u 's-sādat* "Kimiya el seadet, alchymia beatitudinis Opus Persicum paraeneticum et ethicum, quod Imām Ḥojjet el islam Abu Hamid Mohammed Ben Mohammed Ghazal, anno 505 (iac 10 Jul. 1111) mortuus, composit, et in quatuor titulos et quatuor fulcimenta, ut in praefatione dicit, in usum multititudinis hominum qui talia desiderant, distribuit" H K No 10,998, where a full account of the book is given.

6 MS (B) wrongly omits *j*.

7 The text here has *j*, which is in neither MS. Its insertion does not affect the sense.

8 کشائش "attraction" or "disturbance" "Persecution" is the best translation in this passage.

9 Mahmud Khan was asking for enlightenment on one of the subtleties of the *Sufis*. In order that his question may be understood it is necessary to know how the *Sufis* defined the Persian word *Jā*, of which the Arabic synonym is *Qalb*. The *Isfihāni*'s *Sufiyyah* (Sprenger) gives the following

He replied, "Between us and the heart lie a thousand stages. Why do you ask about this matter? Say something on ethics." Afterwards, à propos of the mention of Mir Sayyid Muhammad of Jaunpūr (may God sanctify his soul!) he brought forward an old Mughal and asked him to say what he knew of the *Sayyid*.¹ He said, "At the time of the death of the holy Mir Sayyid Muhammad of Jaunpūr I was present in Farāh,² when he

definition, s.v. القلب. "The heart is an enlightened incorporeal essence, the mean between the *rūh* and the *nafs*." The words روح (*rūh*) and نفس (*nafs*) both mean soul, and are sometimes considered synonymous one with the other. But according to other authorities روح signifies "that whereby is life" and نفس "that whereby is intellect, or reason," e.g., when one sleeps God takes away his نفس, but not his روح, which is not taken save at death; and the نفس is thus called because of its connection with the شَفَقَةُ الرُّوحِ, or "breath." (*Vide* Lane, Arabic Lexicon, *sub vocibus*). But it is not clear that the connection between نفس and شَفَقَةُ الرُّوحِ is very close, for, if it were, one could hardly be deprived of his نفس during sleep. But see also the *Iṣṭilāḥatu'-s-Ṣūfiyyah* *sub vocibus* الروح والنفس and the former is thus defined:—

"*An-nafs* is the fine ethereal essence which supports life, sensation, and voluntary motion. And the philosopher (*scil.* Aristotle) has called it the animal soul, and it is the mean between the heart, which is the reasoning faculty, and the body, which is referred to in the Qur'ān as "the olive tree," which is described as being "blessed, neither of the east nor of the west," on account of the increase of dignity and blessedness which it confers on man, and because it is neither from the east, the world of disembodied spirits, nor from the west, the world of gross bodies."

الروح is thus described:—

"*Ar-rūh* in the technical language of the Ṣūfīs is the fine and incorporeal part of man; and in the technical language of physicians it is the fine vapour bred in the heart, which receives the effect of life, sensation, and motion, and these collectively are called, in their technical language *an-nafs*; and the mean between them is the heart, which conceives general conceptions and their details. Philosophers make no distinction between *qalb* and *rūhu'-l-awwal* ("first soul") which they describe as the reasoning faculty." It is easy to understand Miyān 'Abdu-llāh's anxiety to avoid the discussion of a question of this sort, and to take refuge in some ethical, or indeed, any other question, in order to escape from it.

¹ از وی شہادت خواست. Lit. "asked him for his testimony."

² A town in Sijistān, *vide Āīn-i-Akbarī* I. (trans. Blochmann), 41n. II. (trans. Jarrett), 393, and note.

widrew his claim to being the *Mahdī*, and said, 'I am not the promised *Mahdī*'"¹ God knows (the trth) In the meantime Mahmud Khan said softly "Miyan 'Ahdu-'llāh did wonderfully well in sending the unfortunate Shaikh 'Alā'i to his death, while he himself retraced his steps"²

Miyan 'Ahdu 'llāh removed the baggage (of existence) from this borrowed³ lodging to the neighbourhood of Divine Providence (may his dignity be honoured!) at the age of 90, in the year H. 1000 (A.D 1591-2) May God grant him a dwelling in the highest heaven⁴

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XXIII SHAIKH ABU L FATH OF GUJARĀT

He was the son in law of the reverend Mir Sayyid Muhammad⁵ of Jannpur (may God sanctify his hoooured tomb!), but he never saw the *Mir*⁶ and his connection with him by marriage did not occur until after the *Mir's* death He was a man of very high position and dignity, endowed with perfections He was firm and unshaken in his adherence to the doctrines of the *Muhdawī* sect, holdig to them resolutely, ence, when he was in the honoured city of Makkah and in Gujarat, the closest bond of friendship existed between him and Shaikh Gada'i⁷ In the time of Bairam Khan, the Khan i Khānan,⁸ he came to Agra in

¹ Miyan 'Abdu 'llah evidently brooght forward this old Mughal, with his "testimony," to justify his secession from the *Muhdawī* sect, by proving that Mir Sayyid Muhammad himself before his death relinquished his pretensions to being the *Mahdī* Badaoni, who inclined towards the *Muhdawī* doctrines, seems by his use of the expression *لَا إِيمَانَ*, to have disbelieved the Mughal's testimony, or, at any rate to have regarded it as doubtful The necessity for some justification of Miyan 'Ahdu 'llah's change of views is shewn by Mahmud Khān's comment on his conduct, which immediately follows.

² Lit "widrew his steps from the circle "

³ I.e., this lodging which is given us only for a time, or, as it were, on loan

⁴ Here both MSS have 'Mahmud' The textual emendation is correct

⁵ The text follows MS (B) with باداونی The reading of MS (A) which I have followed, is correct "Mir" was one of M Muhammad's titles as a Sayyid The title *Mirza* is in India almost exclusively bestowed upon Mughals

⁶ Shaikh Gada'i yī Kambū of Dilhī, the Ṣadru ṣ-Sudur, tide vol. II text, pp 29-30, et *infra* chapter n No IV

⁷ Vide vol II text, *In i Akbari*, and *Akbarnama* *passim*

connection with some important business, but in a short time that terrible disaster¹ occurred, and the Shaikh returned to Gujarāt. When I was a student I waited on the Shaikh for half a night in the quarter of Shaikh Bahā'u'-d-dīn Muftī (may God have mercy on him!), on the far side² of the river at Āgra, on the introduction of Maulānā 'Abdu'-llāh of Qandahār, the relative of Hājī Mahdī of Lāhōr. He was sitting alone in a bare room, busily employed in reading³ this tradition of the prophet, (may God bless him and save him!):—"No number of people shall sit together to mention God but that angels shall surround them, and the mercy of God cover them, and tranquillity⁴ come upon them; and God remembers them as men who are with Him." He translated that saying and I received instruction in the ecstatic worship of the *Sūfīs*,⁵ and was employed for some time therein, and experienced a wonderful and⁶ strange accession of divine grace, and the (inner) meaning of the *Qur'ān* was disclosed to me, and for some time⁷ my condition was such that I believed every sound and voice which fell upon my ears to be the mystic chanting of the *Sūfīs*. I saw some of the Shaikh's

¹ I.e., Bairām Khān's dismissal, his estrangement from the Emperor, rebellion, and violent death.

² I.e., the east side of the river, the far side from the city of Āgra.

³ MS. (A) omits خواندہ.

⁴ The word used here is سکینۃ from the root مَسْكُن ("it was, or became still, motionless or stationary"). The meaning of سکینۃ is given by Lane (*Ar. Lex. s. v.*) as "calmness or tranquillity, gravity, staidness, steadiness, or sedateness," and, "a quality inspiring reverence or veneration." Its meaning in Arabic is thus quite clear. But its etymology calls to mind the Hebrew **שְׁבִינָה** (praesens Dei Majestas, as Gesenius gives it). This Hebrew word is Rabbinical, not Biblical. The Arabic word مَسْكُنۃ is used to translate the Hebrew **שְׁבִינָה**, but has not, in Arabic, the same meaning. It is possible that Muhammad, in using the word, if he did so, may have had some Rabbinical tradition in his mind.

⁵ ذکر. *Vide* Hughes' Dict. of Islām, s. v. *zīkr*.

⁶ MS. (B) has و between عجیب and غریب. The text and MS. (A) omit it. The sense is not affected either way.

⁷ چندگاہی (MS. (A) and text). MS. (B).

disciples who, to guard themselves from talking foolishly,¹ had (literally) glued their lips together, some of them (for the same reason) had pebbles in their mouths

The year of the Shaikh's death and where and when it occurred, are not known (May God remember him to his good!)

XXIV. SHAIKH ABU ISHAQ OF LAHOR

48.

He was one of the spiritual successors of Miyan Shaikh Da'ud,² (may God sanctify his tomb!) In his activity (in traversing the path of righteousness) he surpassed all his contemporaries, and he was one of the most wonderful works of God³ (he He praised!) In his love for his spiritual guide he was beside himself, and attained to such an intimate relationship with his holy personality that one might say that the two persons were one clear truth expressed⁴ in two well turned phrases Neither the dust of dependent existence nor the soil of potential existence⁵ besmirched the skirt of his robe, and at the mere sight of him thoughts of God (may He be honoured and glorified!) cast their rays on each black and thoughtless heart, and the pain of searching after God infected all who saw him He called no⁶ one to his presence with the exception of two or three friends who had been intimate associates⁷ of the holy *Miyan* (may God sanctify his soul!), and

مَالِ يَعْدِي ۝

³ *Vide No XVII supra*

⁵ Lit 'he was a miracle (or sign) of the miracles (or signs) of God'

⁴ بِأَعْدَى text and MS (B) در بارگاه MS (A)

⁶ The two words in the text are حَدُوثٌ and إِكْلَانٌ Lane (Arabic English

Lexicon, s.v.) thus defines حَدُوثٌ "is of two kinds حَدُوثٌ زَمَانِيٌّ وَ حَدُوثٌ مَوْعِدٌ"

which is A thing's being preceded by non existence and حَدُوثٌ دَانِيٌّ which is

A thing's being dependent on another for its existence' The word in this passage has the latter meaning إِكْلَانٌ means "contingent, or potential existence, i.e., as opposed either to وَجْهَتْ, 'necessary existence' or وَحْوَدَ, 'actual existence' The meaning of the passage is that the Shaikh employed himself with none but God the self-existent and necessarily existent Being

⁸ طَبِيدَ نَبِيٌّ MS (B) wrongly omits نَبِيٌّ

⁷ هَمْرَاز وَ هَمْرَان (text) The MSS omit وَ

who had their dwelling in Lāhōr; nor was he solicitous to receive disciples. He always lived in privacy in a dark cell, which was situated in a garden, and at times, when an intense longing for the holy *Miyān* overcame him he would go on foot in one day from Lāhōr to Shirgāh, a distance of over forty *kurūh*,¹ and after merely kissing the *Miyān's* threshold he would return, without breaking his journey, unable to endure the effulgence of the *Miyān's* luminous presence.²

In the year already mentioned³ I was honoured by being enabled to pay my respects to that venerable and most worthy man, and was his guest for a day and a night. On the next day, I set out alone, save for one attendant on foot,⁴ when the disturbances were at their height, for Shirgāh. I was stopped by *Jāts*⁵ and highwaymen, who surrounded me on every side, and they were astonished (at my rashness) and asked me whither I was going, alone in this perilous desert. So soon as I said that I had just taken my leave of *Miyān Shaikh Abū Ishāq* with a view of paying my respects to my reverend spiritual guide, the *Miyān* (may God 49. have mercy on them both!) they, immediately they heard the auspicious names of those two holy men, submitted themselves to me, and brought me milk and curds and such like refreshments, and set me on my way, and warned me to be cautious and wary,

¹ I.e., about 80 miles.

² In the original this passage runs as follows:—

وگاه گاهی که شوق حضرت میدان (گریبان گیر او میگشت از لاہور بیک روز در شیرگاه که بمسافت چهل کروہ زیاد است پیدا شدید و آستان بوسیده بهمان پای باز میگشت و تاب تجلیع دیدار پرانوار حضرت میدان) نداشت.

The portion between the brackets has been carelessly omitted from MS. (B) the copyist having evidently mistaken the words حضرت میدان just before the brackets for the same words repeated at the end of the bracketed portion. An absurd *non sequitur* is the result of this careless error.

³ *Vide suprà* in the life of Shaikh Dā'ud (XVI.) p. 56, n. 4.

⁴ Lit. "Alone with one attendant on foot." The جلودار ran beside the horse of the person whom he attended.

⁵ text. حنغان (?) MS. (A). حنغان MS. (B). The tribe referred to must, I think, be the *Jāts* whose name would be properly spelt جات (pl. جاتان) in the Persian character. *Vide* Sherring, "Hindu Tribes and Castes" II. 73.

urging me to make frequent mention of the name of the holy *Miyān* in my religious exercises,¹ as he had endeared himself to all the people of that country, both gentle and simple. Thus, at last, I returned in safety² to the place whither I was bound, as has been already stated³

In the year in which the holy *Miyān* removed the pavilion (of his existence) from this transitory world and pitched it in the kingdom of eternity, and very shortly after his death, there was a plague in the Panjab, and all his associates,⁴ his family, and his most noted spiritual successors and representatives, who numbered fifty or⁵ sixty souls, perfect and perfected, among whom was "the interpreter of secrets," Miyan 'Abdu'l Wahhab, also known as Miyan Babu, with one accord, as though by appointment, successively and each in his due turn, joined the holy *Miyān* (in the next world) in the space of three or four months, as it pleased God (This was the case of those intimately connected with him), but what shall I say of his sincere pupils disciples, and attendants at large? Miyan Shaikh Abu Ishaq, too, owing to the greater intimacy of his connection with the

دکر در دن حضرت میان ۱ Zikr has been already described. The highwaymen apparently urged Badaoni to recite the name of Shaikh Da'ud in his zikr, an exercise in which only the names and attributes of God should be recited. The passage exemplifies the superstitious veneration with which ignorant Indian Muslims regard their *pirs*, and gives some colour to the charge brought against Shaikh Da'ud by Makhdumu'l Mulk, that he permitted his disciples to introduce his name into their zikr they crying out Ya Da'ud, ya Da'ud! Shaikh Da'ud very dexterously repelled the charge (*vide supra* p 53), but from the request here made by the robbers it is almost certain that the practice was common among the Shaikh's followers even if it was not approved by him. ۲ ورد Wird is a portion of the Qur'an set or imposed for recital on a particular occasion or at a particular time. It seems that the name of the Shaikh was to be introduced into these passages from the Qur'an, or it may be that they were to be recited in the Shaikh's name.

۳ نایبیت wrongly omitted from MS (B)

۴ Vide supra, in the life of Shaikh Da'ud (No XVI), pp 56-60

۵ جمیع اصحاب اهل بیت * The MSS insert , between حباب and اهل بیت. The careless omission of the conjunction in the text would give the passage a very unpleasant sound to an Eastern ear.

* MS (B) wrongly inserts , here

Miyān, sped from the desert of separation to the true *Ka'bah* ¹ of union and propinquity. "Some of them have fulfilled their vow and others of them await its fulfilment."² Ah, *Khāja*, it may be

"That thou preparest a cup ³ for them."

He who afterwards continued the exalted line of the *Qādiriyah* ⁴ order was Shaikh 'Abdu-'llāh, the most orthodox and noble son of the holy *Miyān*, who, since the latter removed the baggage (of his existence) to the garden of *Rīzwān*,⁵ remains at present the compendium of all the perfections ⁶ and the successor to all the exalted qualities of *Miyān Shaikh* Abū-'l-Ma'āli.⁷

The peace of God, so long as nights succeed one another,
Be on the pure Shaikh, Abū-'l-Ma'āli.

It is to be hoped that this garden of good fortune will aye remain fruitful—through the prophet and his honoured family.

50.

XXV. SHAIKH RUKNU'-D-DIN.

(*May God have mercy on him!*)

He is the orthodox son of Shaikh 'Abdu-'l-Quddūs of Gangū, whose distinguished virtues and perfections are beyond the need of any comment or exposition, being sufficiently indicated and

¹ "The cube-like building in the centre of the mosque at Makkah, which contains the *Hajaru'l-Aswad*, or black stone." Hughes' Dict. of *Islām*. The word is frequently used metaphorically, as in this passage, for any object of desire, or reward at a journey's end, the simile being the toilsome desert journey of the Makkah pilgrims, with the *Ka'bah* for its object.

² Qur'ān xxxiii. 23.

مَنْ مِنْ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ رَجَلٌ صَدَقَوَا مَا عَاهَدُوا اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ فَبِئْتُمْ مِنْ قَضَىٰ نَحْنُ
وَمِنْهُمْ مَنْ يَنْتَظِرُ وَمَا يَدْلُو تَبْدِيلًا.

"Some there were among the faithful who made good what they have promised to God. Some have fulfilled their vow and others await its fulfilment, and have in no way changed."

³ Of the wine of paradise.

⁴ The order founded by Shaikh Dā'ūd and described (p. 52), as being midway between the *Sahravardī* and *Cishṭī* orders.

⁵ i.e., "paradise." *Rīzwān* is the keeper of the garden of paradise.

⁶ Lit. "the gatherer together of all the perfections."

⁷ Shaikh Dā'ūd.

signified by the holy writings which he has compiled Gangu is a *pargana* town¹ in² the confines of Thanesar

The *Shaikh* was a man greatly respected, whose outward appearance bore witness to his perfections He was a man of great authority in the mysticism of the Sufie, and followed the religious rule of the holy men of his own order, and³ was one of those who are overcome by a mysterious longing after God and are subject to fits of religious ecstasy⁴

He went⁵ occasionally, but very seldom, to the houses of men of worldly position and rank, and never but when in need. Otherwise he remained constantly in the corner of retirement and abstraction I, the compiler of these pages, paid my respects to him in Dihli, at the time of Bairam Khan's rebellion,⁶ in one of the assemblies of *Shaikh* 'Ahdu l 'Aziz (may God have mercy on him') Praise be to God (therefor)

XXVI MITAN MUŞTABA OF GUJARAT

His descent was from the Boharae,⁷ a tribe in Gujrat whose occupation is trading By means of one of the intimate friends of Mir Sayyid Muhammad of Jaunpur (may God sanctify his soul!) he constantly followed the path of poverty and self-effacement, walking steadfastly in that way to the end of his life When the *Khalifah* of the age, after the conquest of the country of Bang,⁸ reached Ajmir on his return from

¹ Badaoni means 'near Thanesar' Thanesar was a *pargana* town in the Sirhind sarkar, while Gangu was a *pargana* town in the adjoining sarkar of Saharanpur *Ain-i Akbar* II (trans Jarrett) 290

² در میں text and MS (B) MS (A) has در

³ و is omitted from the MSS but seems to be rightly supplied in the text

⁴ در راستِ درق و حائل درد The Sufiistic technical terms درق and حائل have already been explained

⁵ در میں carelessly omitted from MS (B)

⁶ در رعنان فخرات بیرم حاں *Vide* vol II text, pp 35 et seqq., and *Akbar-nama* (text) II, 91-121

⁷ The Boharas are a tribe of Musalmans in the Bombay Presidency, Berar, and parts of the Panjab They are *Sufi* by religion Sir George Campbell is of opinion that they are a cross between immigrants from the Persian Gulf and 'Hindu Borahs' *Vide* Sherring 'Hindu Castes and Tribes' II, 183, 184 The Boharas throughout India numbered 129,473 in 1881

⁸ i.e., Bengal

Patna,¹ Āṣaf Khān II, the Mīr Bakshī, in obedience to the Imperial order, brought him with him from Gujarāt. The Emperor, calling the 'Ulamā together one night in the courtyard of the Hall of Audience, questioned Shaikh Muṣṭafā on the truth about the *Mahdawī* question, and he readily answered, and the discussion
 51. was prolonged ; and Hāji Ibrāhīm of Sirhind,² in accordance with his vile disposition, was overbearing in the argument, and vexed the Shaikh ; and I also related circumstantially and at length what I had found in the commentary on the *Gulshan-i-Rāz*,³ a work by Shaikh Muhammad-al-Ahji, who was the immediate⁴ disciple of Mir Sayyid Muḥammad-i-Nūr Bakshī,⁵ who also, in his time, had set up a claim to being the *Mahdī*, and had brought various troubles on himself thereby. Since what I said was opposed to the Shaikh's contention it was evidently the cause of

¹ Vol. II. (text), 185. *Akbarnāma* (text) II., 79. Bādāoni places this event in A.H. 982 (A.D. 1574-5). Abū-'l-Fażl places it in A.H. 981 (A.D. 1573-4). The MSS. spell Patna, پٹنہ, after the Persian style. In the text it is Indianized into پٹنہ.

² *Vide* vol. II. (text), pp. 172, 173. The passage is reproduced in the short life of Bādāoni prefixed to this volume.

³ Gulsheni rāz, rosarium arcanorum. Carmen persicum, quod ita incipit :
 Nomine ejus, qui animam cogitare docuit—
 et quaestiones et responsa continet secundum terminologium theosophicum.
 Ad ejus similitudinem carmen *Azhār-el-gulshen* compositum est. Auctor Rosarii est Sheikh Mahmud Tebrizi qui in vico Shebister natus et sepultus est, qui locus octo parasangas a Tebriz distat. Commentarios in carmen scripserunt Motzafer-ed-Din Ali Shirazi—Sheikh Shems-ed-din Mohammed Ben Yahya Ben Ali Ahji Jilāni Nūrbakhshī, anno mortuus, enjus commentarius persice scriptus textum admixtum habet, et Mefātih el-i'jāz inscriptus est. Nitide eum exscripsit mense Dzu'l-hijjet anni 877 (inc. 8. Jun. 1472). Hāji Khalifah, 1083.

The commentary of Shaikh Shamsu'd-dīn is the book referred to. He is described in the text and MSS. as لَاهْجَى (Lāhjī), an error for آلهْجَى (Al-Ahjī).

The *Gulshan-i-Rāz* has been translated into English by Mr. Whinfield.

⁴ The text has وَلَوْلَهُ which, as explained in a footnote to the text, is the reading of both MSS. I think that we should substitute وَلَوْلَهُ, and have translated accordingly. If, however, the reading of the MSS. be correct we might translate "he was the disciple, with one intermediary, of, &c.," but the expression is awkward and unidiomatic.

⁵ Of Badakhs̄hān. A disciple of Abū Ishāq-i-Khatlānī who gained numerous adherents and created such disturbances that troops were sent

his being vexed with me The Emperor ordered the Shaikh, after his arrival at Fathpūr, to stay for some days in the house of Khāja 'Abdu's Samad the painter, of sweet pen¹ To make amends for my fault I waited on him with my apologies, and asked him for forgiveness He was very feeble, and in that very assembly a basin was brought to him, and he brought up a great quantity of blood It seems that after he received leave to depart for Gejrat he removed the baggage (of existence) from this transitory lodging to the eternal abode, either on his way to his native land or immediately after his arrival there This event took place in the year H 983 (A.D 1575 6) He is the author of works which bear witness to his separation from the world and self effacement² May God deal with him according to His graciouslyess

XXVII SHAIKH ISHAQ I KAKU OF LAHOR³

His father's name was Shaikh Kaku and the people of Lahor believe him to have been a saint⁴ He (Shaikh Isbāq) was a profoundly learned man, resiged to God and abstinent He never went to the houses of worldly men or begged from them He was always teaching, and was a compendium of all branches of knowledge He was a *Sufi* by religion and was ever employed with the Truth (God)⁵ He would not speak unless questions were put to him One day he met in the road a contemptible wretch who gave to him an earthen pot full of rice and milk, saying, "Take this and come with me" Without any objection or refusal he took it on his head and passed through the market-place until he came to the place where the man lodged, and from

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against him He was defeated and fled to 'Irāq in the mountainous districts of which country he is said to have gained thirty thousand followers He had often to fight with the governors but defied them all *Ain-i Akbari* I (trans Blochmann) introduction, p iv note

¹ قلم شیرین Vide *Ain-i Akbari* vol. I (trans Blochmann), p 107

² Lit 'From which arises the odour of exile and effacement,' the 'exile' referring to the Shaikh's belief that he was but a sojourner in this world

³ *Ain-i Akbari* I (trans Blochmann), p 545

⁴ Lit 'Have a belief in his saintship' (ولامت) A *wali* (ولي) is 'one who is very near,' i.e., to God Hughes' Dict of Islam s.v. Both MSS have *wala* for *wali* The emendation in the text is correct

⁵ حق a *Sufi* istic term for God

that day forth his heart was washed clean from the guile of pride, and he was also distinguished among those learned in profane knowledge.¹ In the course of the year . 995 (A.D. 1587) I had the honour of waiting on that reverend man, and one day I told this story, in some connection or another, to Shaikh Faizī,² who shortly afterwards received the title of *Maliku-'sh-Shu'arā'*³ and he, according to his habit, which was to decry⁴ all holy men,⁵ past and present, and to exalt himself, began scoffingly to belittle the Shaikh, while I remained silent. I cannot say whether it was that night or some other night that I saw in a dream that Shaikh Abū-'l-Fazl had alighted in a plain, in an old ruin which had no more than two or three⁶ walls standing. Shaikh Ishāq was standing in the company of gunners, with a musket in his hand, just as though it were the night of the new moon and the usual custom in the Royal Court of firing off guns on the occasion were being observed. He took aim at me and fired, and the sparks fell all round me and in front of me, and⁷ I awoke, terrified. The next day I took an offering to the Shaikh and it was honoured with his acceptance, and I told him what had happened to me.⁸

Owing to his great age he had lost the power of speech, but he used to raise his hand and recite the *Fātiḥah*, praise be to God ! He was the instructor of most of the famous learned men of Lāhōr, such as Shaikh Sa'du-'llāh, who had no rival⁹ in his time, and Shaikh Munavvar and others.

¹ Or perhaps, "he was distinguished from those learned in secular knowledge," i.e., by his humility.

² The brother of Abū-'l-Fazl.

³ "King of Poets," the title commonly given to the poet laureate in Muhammadan Courts.

⁴ نَفِي. The text wrongly has نَفِي with the *hamzah*.

⁵ The MSS. have مُشَائِخٍ كِبَارٍ. The text omits كِبَارٍ.

⁶ دَوْدَوْ. MS. (B) has دَوْدَرْ, which is nonsense.

⁷ و, supplied in the text, though it appears in neither MS.

⁸ Badāoni evidently regarded the vision as a punishment for not having defended the Shaikh when he was attacked by Faizī. In this passage MS. (B) wrongly omits گفتمن. I have already expressed my opinion of this MS.

⁹ مُنْسَبٌ, lit. "an analogy," something which bears a resemblance to something else.

In his youth the *Shaykh* was inclined mostly to sport,¹ and took his delight therein, so that whenever he had leisure from study he would take his falcon and hawk and would go out hawking, traversing the ground on foot

His venerable age exceeded one hundred years when, in the year H 996 (A D 1588), he hastened away to the close companionship² of God

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XXVIII *SHAIKH SA'DU 'ILAH BANI ISRĀ'IL*

One of the orthodox, noble, and bountiful pupils of Ishaq Kaku. He has followed various rules of life. At first he was a strict observer of the holy law, but suddenly, throwing off all restraint, he committed all manner of unlawful acts, and forming an attachment to a singing girl used to roam³ about the market place, for all his gray beard

Though people heretofore did learn of me
Now love has come, my teaching days are gone

Men used, from their firm faith in him, to apply the dust of his feet as tutty,⁴ and held him to be a saint,⁵ and in that capacity he used to give instruction, in the open cattle market.⁶ He disposed of all the moveable property⁷ of his followers, which he had with him (to satisfy the demands) of his mistress, through love of her. One night when he was drinking wine with

¹ شکار carelessly omitted from MS (B)

² حوار قرب lit "the neighbourhood of the propinquity"

³ میگذشت (text) Both MSS have میگذشت

⁴ توپیا a crude zinc oxide, applied to the eyes as a collyrium

⁵ عقیده ولايت دلواشدند "Believed him to be a saint," i.e., one near to God

⁶ The text and MSS. have سعاس در عین سعاس means "a seller of beasts." The expression is elliptical and obscure, but I take it to be equivalent to بجایت در عین بزار سعاس and have so translated it, might be suggested as a variant for سعاس in which case the sense of the phrase would be, "all polluted as he was," scil by his intercourse with the singing girl

⁷ اسناپ carelessly omitted from MS (B)

her, a party of *muhtasibs*,¹ together with the students who were his disciples, banded together and entered his house by climbing over the wall, with a view of bringing him to a proper frame of mind,² and, breaking all the appurtenances of unlawful and forbidden amusements³ (which they found), wished to subject him to punishment.⁴ He repeated what was said (on one occasion) to the second true *Khalīfah*,⁵ the Prince of the true believers, ‘Umar (may God be gratified with him!). “If I have committed one unlawful act you have been guilty of three unlawful acts, and are the more deserving of punishment, for that, in order to spy upon me, and without my permission, you entered my house by climbing over the wall.”⁶ The party, ashamed and abashed, left him. Afterwards, being enabled by God’s grace to repent sincerely, he modelled his life on the book *Iḥyā*,⁷ and passed his time in worship and austerities, and composed

54. many profitable and sublime books, among them being a commentary on the *Jawāhiru-l-Qur’ān*⁸ by Imām Ghazzālī (may God have mercy upon him!).

1 Police officers appointed to prevent drinking, gambling and other offences against the moral law.

2 بجهت اصلاح حال او "for the purpose of remedying his condition."

3 آلات ملاهي و مناهي "the instruments of wanton amusements and of pastimes prohibited by the sacred law," i. e., such things as dice, drinking-cups, wine vessels, and instruments of music.

4 تعزير "Censuring," or "inflicting stripes below the full number allowed by law." It does not appear whether the *Shaikh* was to have been flogged or merely rebuked,

5 بخليفة تأيي حقاني! Here Badāoni stoutly asserts himself as a *Sunnī*.

6 The three unlawful acts were (1) spying upon a Muslim, (2) entering the house without asking the owner’s permission, and (3) entering the house as thieves, by climbing over the wall. The privacy of dwelling is established by the teaching of Muḥammad, and it is unlawful to enter a house without asking, or asking permission. *Vide Qu’rān xxiv. 27–29.*

7 احياء علوم الدين *vide supra*, p. 29, n. 2.

8 *Jewāhir El-Coran*, gemmae Corani, auctore Imām Hojjet-el-Islām, Abū Hāmid Mohammed Ben Mohammed Ghazālī Tūsī, anno 505 (inc. 10 Jul. 1111) mortuo. Librum divisum esse commemorat in doctrinas et actiones, has esse exterioras et interioras, interiores autem distributas esse in purificationem et sui ipsius alienationem, ut quatuor sint genera doctrinarum, exteriores dico et interiores, et vituperatione et laude dignas. Singula genera

When the *Khalijah* of the age summoned him to a private interview he asked him, "of what race are you?" and he replied, "of the tribe of the scribes, who are called in the Hindi tongue, *Kayats*"¹ The Emperor was much pleased with this unassuming answer and held a long conversation with him I waited on him for the first time in Lahör and in some connection or another he made mention of the question of the decay of Multā and the prosperity of Lahor, and the matter of the *Sultāns* of the Langah family, especially Sultan Husain,² speaking on these subjects in such a manner that I was astonished at the manner in which he acquitted himself, and at the elegance and polish of his style Rarely have I heard such sweetness of diction

He never left a beggar disappointed, and although he had no concern with commerce or husbandry, and was not in enjoyment of a subsistence allowance from the Emperor, his resources and expenditure on alms and charity were such that nobody knew

ad decem principia redeunt, totum autem selectissimam Corani partem continet" *Hajj Khalifah* No 4293 No mention is made of the commentary composed by the *Shaikh*

¹ The *Kayats* or *Kayasths*, the great caste among the Hindus whose occupation is writing They numbered in 1881 two and a quarter millions From the *Shaikh's* coquomen it might be supposed that he was of Jewish or Afghan descent, as was perhaps the case His forebears may have been employed as scribes, and it is possible that the *Shaikh*, without being a Hindu by descent, was sufficiently polite to humour Akbar's predilection for Hindus, by naively confessing to a Hindu ancestry, and to refrain from proudly claiming a foreign descent, as a bigoted Muslim would probably have done It is for this reason that Badaoni describes his answer as "unassuming" Or the *Shaikh* may, perhaps, have been descended from *Kayasts* on the mother's side, and made the most of the fact in order to humour the Emperor

² The Langah dynasty reigned in Multan from A.D. 1443 to A.D. 1524 *Shaikh* Yusuf, the first of the line, established an independent monarchy in Multan in the former year In the latter year Sultan Husain Langah II, the last of the line was overcome by Shah Husain Arghun, the ruler of Sindh, who acknowledged the suzerainty of Bībar, and afterwards of Humayun, from whom, however, he withdrew his allegiance when Sher Shah overcame him When Humayun fled to Sindh Shah Husain received his ambassadors not discourteously, but refused to assist him in any way He subsequently drove Humayun from Sindh *Ain-i-Albari* II (trans Jarrett), 334-336, and "The Indus Delta Country," by Major General M. R Haig, 89-92

whence he derived his means,¹ and the people were perplexed on this subject.²

On reaching the age of about eighty years he passed away from this illusory world, and great and small, in their thousands, nay more, accompanied³ his funeral, taking up his pure bier on their heads and shoulders, with a view to obtaining blessings by so doing,⁴ (and the crowd was so great that) there was not room to plant one's foot.

XXIX. MIYĀN SHAIKH 'ABDU-'LLĀH OF BĀDĀON.

He was one of the benefits of the age and the blessings of the epoch. In early youth he was learning a lesson from the *Būstān*, and came to this couplet :—

“In the way of purity it is impossible, O Sa'di,
“To travel, except by following the Chosen One,”⁵

(may God bless and save him !). He asked his teacher, “What is the meaning of this couplet ? Explain it to me in Hindi.” His
 55. teacher said “What business have you with this story⁶ ?”. He replied “Until you thoroughly explain it to me I will not learn another⁷ lesson.” When the meaning of it had been explained he said “Give me an account of Muḥammad, “the Chosen” (may God bless and save him !) and tell me who he is.” The teacher described to him some of the noble qualities and wondrous works of his holiness (may God bless him and save him), and, as soon as he heard the description, the mystic attrac-

¹ Lit. “Nobody knew whence all these resources, expenditure, and disbursements were.”

² درین امر MS. (B) carelessly omits درین.

³ بـ تـ شـ يـ عـ جـ نـ اـ زـ رـ فـ تـ هـ, text and MSS. The word should be تـ شـ يـ عـ, the reading in the text is nonsense, and is due apparently to the unaccountable antipathy of Indian scholars to the repetition of the letter حـ in words of this measure, such as تـ مـ يـ يـ زـ and تـ غـ يـ يـ زـ, which they write تـ مـ يـ يـ زـ and تـ غـ يـ يـ زـ.

⁴ بـ تـ بـ رـ كـ.

⁵ The concluding couplet of the introduction to the *Būstān*. The couplet commences here مـ حـ الـ سـ تـ. The better reading is مـ دـ نـ دـ اـ رـ. The chosen one مـ صـ طـ فـ () is, of course, Muḥammad.

⁶ حـ كـ اـ يـ تـ.

⁷ بـ يـ شـ تـ رـ in the text. Both MSS. have, correctly, بـ يـ شـ تـ رـ, and so I have translated.

tion of the Lord seized on him, and, rending his shirt, he uttered the creed of Islam¹. When his parents heard of this they recognized that he had declared himself free of them and renounced them,² and could not properly return to their care, so that they, of necessity, relinquished all claim to him, and he, journeying from Samaua,³ the home of his ancestors, employed himself in reading the *Qur'an*, in making himself acquainted with God's commands, and in the pursuit of knowledge. At last, joining himself to a band of famous sages and great saints he became one of the greatest sages of the age, and placing his hand in the hand of Miyan Shaikh 'Abdu'l Baqi yi Cishti of Badaon (may God give rest to his soul⁴) he became his disciple, and received instruction from him in the mystic worship of the *Sufis*. Subsequently he attended upon Shaikh Safi of Khairabad⁵ (may God sanctify his honoured tomb⁶) and others, and, employing himself in austerities and in striving after holiness, attained perfection. He acquired the blessing of knowledge from most of the noted masters⁶ of his time especially from Miyan Shaikh Ladan⁶ of Dihli and from Mir Sayyid Jalal of Badaon, and after the death of the latter, whose sins are forgiven, he became his successor and taught and imparted instruction for many years in Badaon, and many well known sages, who have become famous, sat at his feet. People from the surrounding country and from the utmost parts of (other) countries by waiting upon him attain eternal felicity.

Latterly the mysterious attraction of God has overpowered him, and he appears at meetings for ecstatic singing and dancing,⁷

کلمہ طیبہ '، مُحَمَّد رَسُولِ اللَّهِ وَ مُحَمَّد طَیْبٌ' the delectable speech

"there is no god but God and Muhammed is the apostle of God"

او ایسا و تدو اے اشان نموده⁸ MS (B) omits اے. The meaning of this passage is that as the boy had devoted himself to the religious life his parents relinquished their control over him and handed him over to his religious instructors.

¹ A pargana town in the sarkar of Sirhind *Sabha* of Dihli.

² Chief town of a *Sarkar* of the same name in the *Sabha* of Awadh.

³ مُقْدَدْ بَنَاءً lit. those who are followed

⁴ MS (B) has مُعَذَّبْ

⁵ سُلَاسِ سَمَاعٍ The ecstatic worship of the *Sufis* has already been briefly described. Some of the performances are here described.

and from the excessive influence of his longing and desire after
 56. God¹ he utters soul-melting cries and heart-searing shrieks and falls² a-trembling, and advances some paces, though there be at the time no ecstatic dance in progress, and crying out, at the same time, the *lā haul*³ he returns to his place and remains standing there.

His unceremoniousness and unpretentiousness are such that he goes on foot, like his predecessors and successors, to the shop and to the market to buy household goods, whether in small or large quantities, and to purchase all necessary supplies for his kitchen, which he may need, and carries them back to where he dwells. On the way, too, he teaches a number of his students, and howsoever much they may say "Master, there is no need for you to trouble yourself in this way, we will perform this duty,"⁴ he does not consent thereto. His auspicious appearance bears witness to his poverty and self-effacement, and, notwithstanding his having received permission to impart religious instruction, and documents appointing him a recognized deputy from (various) holy men, he is not devoted to the usual system of *Shaikh*s and their disciples,⁵ but on the contrary, carefully avoids it. Clad in the garb of holy men and the vesture of religious leaders he remained cloaked and concealed in his robe.⁶

When I was reading, under his instruction, the commentary on the *Sahāif fi-l-Kalām*⁷ and the *Tuhqīq fī uṣūli-l-*

۱ شدت غلبة شوق. Both MSS. add و ذوق. The words have been carelessly omitted from the text.

2 Both MSS. have میغومایند, the respectful plural. The text has the singular.

3 The formula لَا حَوْلَ وَلَا قُوَّةَ إِلَّا بِاللَّهِ, "there is no power or strength but in God."

4 *I.e.*, the day's marketing.

5 مَقِيدَ بِشِيخِي وَمُرِيدِي نِيَسْت. lit. "he is not devoted to *shaikh*-ship and discipleship," *i.e.*, the system by which a recognized *Shaikh* authorized his disciples to teach, and constituted them his spiritual successors.

6 قَدَا "a kind of tunic, generally reaching to the middle of the shank, divided down the front and made to lap over the chest." Lane, *Arabic Lexicon s. v. vide also Dozy, Dictionnaire des noms des vêtements chez les Arabes*, pp. 352-362.

7 "El-Sahāif fi el-Kalam, folia de metaphysica, quæ ita incipiunt; *Laus Deo existentia et unitate digna*, etc., et in praefationem sex folia, et conclu-

fiqh,¹ notwithstanding that a class of pupils² of copious attainments and students of clear intellect were also engaged in study, and brought subtle difficulties for his elucidation, I never saw him, in the course of his teaching, to be under the necessity of referring to a book for the purpose of solving those questions and obscure subtleties, for whatever he had once seen he had on the tip of his tongue, and he had acquired³ the habit of great readiness, being assisted thereto by God.⁴ He is now in his ninetieth year, and will, please God, who is honoured, attain to the natural limit of man's age.

XXX SHAIKH JALALU'D DIN OF QANNAUJ⁵

He was a man mysteriously attracted to God and walking in the way of the law.⁶ His ancestors came from Multān, and settled in Qannauj, an old and famous city of Hindustan. After devoting himself to the carrying out of the religious obligations imposed on devout Muslims he experienced a

monem distributa sunt In ejus commentariis numeratur liber El-Mearif si Sharh El-Sahef inscriptas, qui ita incipit, Laus Deo cuius existentiae nullus est terminus, etc. Auctor quem Samarcand: esse puto, formula usus est "dicit anchor 'et, 'dico ego'" Panter Behists: commentarium edidit.⁷ Hajī Khalīfa, 7718 It was probably one of the two commentaries referred to that Badaoni read.

¹ The book referred to was probably that described by Hajī Khalīfa, No 2715—"El Tahqiq, expositio accurata. Commentarium operis Muntekhāb de principiis, de quo litera Mim videatnr" It may, however have been the following (H K No 2720) "El Tahqiq, accurata expositio, auctore Imam Mohy ed din Yahya Ben Sheref Nawavi" Badaoni gives the names of these books in Persian. For convenience' sake I have given them their original Arshic titles.

² مُسْتَوْشِدُون lit 'those who seek for religious guidance or instruction' MS (B) has مُرْشِدُون. Probably the word مُسْتَوْشِدُون was too much for the copyist

³ حاصل کرد MS (A) has حاصل گردید

⁴ MS (B) omits اللہ

⁵ The ancient city of Qannauj (Sans *Kanya Lubja*), in early Hindu times one of the principal centres of Aryan civilization in India. It was in Badaoni's time the chief town of the sarkar of the same name in the Suba of Āgra. It is now a Tahsil town in the Farrukhabad District, N W P. Vide Cunningham, "Ancient Geography of India," 376-382

⁶ سالک It has already been observed that the fact of a *Sufi*, one who has experienced رحمہ, i.e., has been mysteriously drawn to God, condescend

57. mysterious attraction to God, but none the less¹ left no jot or tittle of the pure law unobserved. At times, when overcome by religious ecstasy, he would blacken his face and, hanging the string of a bedstead round his neck, and would wander through the market-places uttering doleful and mournful cries ; and he had many unusual observances such as these. One day, when he had completed the Friday prayers in the *Masjid-i-Hayy*, I waited on him. He got up and went to visit the old obliterated tombs of his noble ancestors, which were in the courtyard of the *masjid*, and at each² grave he recited the *fātiḥah*,³ and told⁴ one of his attendants who conversed with him the story of the life of the occupant of the grave, and after telling separately the stories of each of those holy men, he fell into a reverie, and when his reverie was over he put to that attendant a question from the *Farā'iz*.⁵ The attendant replied, "If a man dies, and leaves as his heirs one son and one daughter, the son receives two-thirds of the property left by the deceased, and the daughter one-third." The *Shaikh* listened to him with approval and then, without saying another word,⁶ left the place. It afterwards became known⁷ that the *Shaikh* observed that practice in ac-

ing to observe any of the ordinary restrictions of religion and morality, is always regarded by Badāoni, and by all Muslims of *Sūfi*-istic tendencies, as worthy of special remark. The *Sūfi* holds himself to be absolved from all such observances. He is above such trivial matters, which have been ordained for the common herd. He is, in short, an antinomian. *Vide supra* p. 27 n. 4.

1 گیا. MS. (A) has گیا, wrongly. Here we have another instance of fact of a *Sūfi* observing the religious and moral law being considered extraordinary.

² ~~is~~ omitted from the text in spite of the authority of both MSS.

³ The opening chapter of the Qur'an, recited either in behalf or of others. Here evidently used as a prayer for the dead.

* The text here destroys the whole sense of this passage with
یکی از خادمان omitting the preposition. The MSS. have the preposition &
before یکی, shewing that it was the *Shaikh* who spoke to the attendant, not
the attendant to the *Shaikh*.

⁵ The Muslim law of inheritance and the division of property left by a deceased person.

ن۔ سخن نا گفتہ ۶ MS. (B) has *دی* for *نی*.

چنان for چنانچه MS. (B) has چنان بظهور انبیامیده ۷ superscribed.

cordance with that tradition, pregnant with meaning, the substance of which is that if a question from the *Fard'iz* be recited over a tomb, and a statement of the shares of inheritance he made, all the people lying buried there are, by virtue of the recitation of that portion of the law, forgiven their sins¹. The *Shaikh* never failed to observe this practice on Fridays.

XXXI SAIYK KAPUR I MAJZUB² OF GWALIYAR

(May God have mercy upon him!)³

He was a Husaini⁴ Sayyid, and in early life followed the military profession⁵. Suddenly, leaving the service, he adopted the occupation of a water carrier, and at night used to carry water to the houses of chaste and secluded widows,⁶ and used to take water to the people free of charge, until he experienced a mysterious attraction towards God, when he gave up all employment, and, abandoning his own free-will, no longer spoke at all, in the way of conversation, but was ever longing for dissolution.

58.

I passed from Thy street supporting myself in my weakness
with my hand against the wall,

Thou camest in Thy glory, and I was struck motionless as a picture on the wall?

He chose for his dwelling a house in the lower market of Gwāliyār,⁸ and always remained there, and passed all his time with his head drooping in meditation. If any question occurred to the minds of those who were present with him he would answer it, after the manner of those who are mysteriously drawn to God, as though he were raving in a delirium,⁹ and would solve

¹ Apparently by the vicarious merit of the reciter.

² Affected by *samsa*, the mysterious attraction towards God.

³ This benediction occurs in MS. (A) only.

* I.e. a Sayyid descended from Husain.

میادینگری ۵ MS (A) has میادینگری text, and MS (B) MS (A) has

⁶ عورات بدوة The use of the word *عورات* in the sense of "woman," clearly shows the author to have been a native of India. The word does not mean "woman" in Arabic or Persian.

⁷ A very common simile in Persian poetry for a person who is suddenly struck motionless by surprise, terror, admiration, or any other emotion.

⁸ Or perhaps, "below the market place at Gwaliyar."

⁹ This passage shews us the frame of mind expected in men who claim to have been 'mysteriously attracted' towards God. It is on this account that madness is regarded in the East with respect, for the Oriental commonly

the difficulty, and he would reconnt what was passing at a distance. He always passed the night in a standing posture, sometimes weeping and sometimes laughing.

I have heard from his confidants² that on one occasion a *Sayyid* came from a foreign country and asked the *Shaikh* to prove his claim to being a *Sayyid*.³ The *Shaikh* ordered firewood to be brought, and a large fire to be lighted, and then, taking the man by the hand, said, "Come, let us both enter the fire,

"That his face may be blackened⁴ who is lying."

The *Sayyid* held aloof, but *Shaikh* Kapūr, entering the fire, came out of it without hurt; and many other similar miracles are related of him. All accounts of him agree in this respect. For the sake of brevity I have related only this much.

⁵ In the course of the year H. 979 (A.D. 1571-2) he ran out one night shouting "Strike, strike!"⁶ and fell from over the door of his house, and surrendered his life to God. *Shaikh* Faizi found the date of his death in the words "*Kapūr-i-Majzūb*."⁷

XXXII. *SHAIKH ALLĀH*⁸ *BAKHSH* OF GARMAKTESAR.⁹

Garmaktesar is a *pargana* town on the banks of the Ganges, in the *Sarkār* of Sambal. He lived for forty years in poverty

believes that the maniac is as likely to be possessed by God as by an evil spirit. The account of travels of the eccentric Tom Coryate supplies us with an interesting example of this view of madness.

1 **مخيبات**. This word has been too much for the scribe of MS. (B), whose version is **مخنیات**.

2 **نقاش**. MS. (B) has **بَلْقَاش**.

3 **برهان سعادت از طلبیده بود**. The MSS. omit **از**.

4 *I.e.*, "that he may be put to shame," the usual idiom in Persian and Urdu. It is peculiarly appropriate here, from the nature of the ordeal.

5 MS. (A) has **و** here.

6 **مار مار**. These words are probably Hindūstānī, which the *Shaikh* most likely spoke, at any rate in moments of excitement, and I have translated them accordingly. If we suppose them to be Persian they will mean "A snake, a snake!"

7 $20 + 2 + 6 + 200 + 40 + 3 + 600 + 6 + 2 = 879$, the sum being just a hundred short.

8 The text has **الله** (*llah*) though both MSS. have **الله** (*Allāh*).

9 Garmaktesar, or more properly Gaphmaktesar, is now an interesting old town in the Mīrath District, N.-W. P., picturesquely situated on the

and contentment employed in imparting religious instruction to students He was noted for his resignation, and companionship with him caused one to think of God

In his seventieth year he journeyed to Sambal¹ for pleasure, and an old woman, the widow of the late Shaikh Banju of Sambal she being devout and given to fasting the fourth (perfect woman)² of her age, having lived for thirty five years without a husband, never breaking her fast save with milk, privately sought to become his disciple and asked him to shew her the way of God He sent in answer to her to this effect ‘Until thou obey the law of his holiness the best of men³ (on him and on his family be blessing and salvation from God) and enter the bonds of matrimony⁴ it is in vain for thee to ask concerning this path⁵ and to speak of it’ She at once entered her travelling litter and waited on him, and was married to him and shortly afterwards both of them journeyed to the next world⁶

I waited on that reverend man in company with one of my friends by name Sayyid Qasim, who was one of the noblest of the Sayyids of Dihli and found him pleasant in companionship and likewise in speech When a basin and ewer were brought for us to wash our bands he said “Begin with that Sayyid for ‘One who is of the family of Hashim⁷ has a better right to precedence’”

right bank of the Ganges It takes its name from the ancient fort and from the temple of Mukteshwa a Mahadeva

¹ سنبل (text) The reading of the MSS (سنبل) is correct

² The reference here is to the tradition that Muhammad said ‘Among men there have been many perfect but among women only four’ Asiyah the wife of Fir'aun (Pharaoh) Mariam the daughter of Amra, Kadijah, the daughter of Khawalid and Fatimah, daughter of Muhammad In the Qur'an and probably therefore in this tradition Miriam the daughter of Amran and sister of Moses and Aaron is confounded with the Blessed Virgin Badaoni means to say that this old lady was entitled to rank with the four perfect women of the tradition but it would have been more logical to call her the fifth not the fourth perfect woman

³ مسلم

⁴ Celibacy is frequently condemned by Muhammad for ‘when a Muslim marries he perfects half his religion’ Vide Hughes Dict of Islam ‘sub vocibus ‘Celibacy’ and Marriage’

⁵ يج, in neither MS but rightly supplied in the text

⁶ سرگھرت گردیده VS (B) has گردیده, which is nonsense

⁷ The great grandfather of Muhammad, from whom the latter's family, represented now by the Sayyids are called Hashimis

XXXIII. ŠAIKH 'ĀRIF-I-HUSAINI.¹

He is one of the grandsons of Šāh Isma'il-i-Safavi.² He is a great master of exorcism, practises many austerities and strives much in the path of holiness, breaking his fast always with some coarse burnt barley bread and bitter herbs, which none but himself can bear to eat. He walks steadfastly in the straight path of the holy law, and recites the *azān*³ at the five times of prayer, in the very portico⁴ of Šaikh Abū-'l-Fażl, at the Imperial Court, fearing nobody. Many miracles are related of him, one of them being as follows. He will throw a round piece of paper into a chafing-dish, with the fire burning therein, and will take out of the chafing-dish coined *ashrafis*⁵ and distribute them to the company, how many soever they be. They say that he

60. will come out of a locked room, just as bodies are transported from place to place, and will appear elsewhere. On one occasion he came from Gujārāt to the city of Lāhōr and gave to the people winter fruits in the summer time and summer fruits in the winter time. The 'ulamā of the Panjāb, the chief of whom was Makhdūmu-'l-Mulk,⁶ raised objections to what he was doing, and said, "It is evident that this fruit comes from some people's orchards, and that he has possessed himself of it without the

1 I.e., a *Sayyid* descended from Husain.

2 The word *Safavī* occurs in neither MS. Šāh Isma'il was the founder of the *Safavī* dynasty in Persia. He was descended of a long line of pious *Sayyids*. His reign commenced in A.D. 1500 according to Musalmān historians, but according to Malcolm (*Hist. Persia* I. 500) he was not recognized as sovereign of the whole Persian Empire until A.D. 1502 in which year he overcame Sultān Murād, in a battle fought near Hamadān in Irāq. (*Vide* Malcolm, *Hist. of Persia*, and Beale, *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, 183, 184).

3 The call to prayer.

4 The text and MSS. have *خانه* which has no meaning. I read *خانه*, with the meaning here given. Another reading suggested is *خانه*, "wardrobe," "store-room for clothes," or for basins, ewers, &c. The two variants were suggested to me by Shamsu-l-'Ulama Šaikh Mahmūd Jilānī. He prefers the latter.

5 The gold coin commonly known as a "gold mohur."

6 Makhdūmu-'l-Mulk has already been mentioned more than once. He was chief of the 'Ulama or orthodox doctors during the reigns of the Afghān Emperors, Šīr Šāh, Salīm Šāh, Firuz Šāh, and 'Adlī, during which period he held the title of *Makhdūmu-'l-Mulk* which had been given him by

owners' permission, and to eat it¹ is unlawful." As he was not well received in that country, he went to Kashmīr, and 'Alī Khān,² the ruler of that land believed firmly in him, and gave him his daughter in marriage, but, when he discovered that Shaikh 'Arif was setting up some claim or another,³ he demanded his daughter's dowry back again, and took a deed of divorce from her husband, and the Shah⁴ went thence to Tihat, and there also, they say, he performed many miracles, one of them being that he shook a tree, and quantities of dirhams and dinārs⁵ fell from it. In this manner he exhibited great supernatural power, in Gujurāt, Hindustān,⁶ Kashmīr and Tihat, and wherever he went attempts were made on his life, and he travelled from country to country.

On the first occasion on which the Emperor made a tour from Kashmīr to Kābul the Shah came to see him in the course of that journey, and the Emperor appointed persons to have charge of him, who should not let him go out of their sight.⁷ And sometimes, when he came into the Emperor's presence, his Majesty would place musk, and camphor, and other perfumes in a golden cup, and present it to the Shah⁸ as a gift, but

Humayun His name was Maulana 'Abdullah Ansari of Sultanpur. He did not die until II 990 (A D 1582) being then like the rest of the 'Ulama in disgrace. Vide Vol II, text, 202-204, and *Am-i-Akbar* I (trans Blochmann) introduction viii 544 *et passim*.

¹ Cf. carelessly omitted from MS (B)

² This was 'Alī Khan Cak, King of Kashmīr, who reigned from A H 971 to A H 986 (A D 1563-1578) in which latter year he died from injuries received during a game of *caagan* (polo) and was succeeded by his son, Yusuf Khan (or Shah) Cak, in whose time Kashmīr was conquered by Shahrokh Mirza and annexed to the empire. Vide *Am-i-Akbar* I (trans Blochmann), 478, 479 and II (trans Jarrett), 380.

³ This vague statement may mean that the Shah⁹ was following the fashion of the time and setting up as *Mahārāja*.

⁴ I.e., the Shah¹⁰. This is the usual title of courtesy applied in India and especially in the Panjab to Sayyid.

⁵ Small silver and gold coins. Vide *Am-i-Akbar* I (trans Blochmann) 33, 36.

⁶ The word is *Hind* (Hind), but from its juxtaposition with Gujarat and Kashmīr it is evident that it means only Hindustan proper.

⁷ The Shah¹¹ though honoured on account of his reputation for sanctity was evidently regarded as a dangerous character. His royal descent would have served to increase the suspicion with which he was regarded.

however much he said "Accept from¹ me some gold, or some land," the Shaikh would reply, "Bestow² the gold upon your Aḥadīs,³ for they are in sorry case. What should I do with it?" When I saw the Shāh in company with Qalij Khān, in the portico⁴ of Shaikh Abū-'l-Fazl, under whose protection the Shāh was,⁵ I standing on the parapet of a roof which overlooked his cell, he had his face covered with a veil, and was writing, and was saying
 61. to one who was with him, "It was this Qalij Khān who said, 'I am Qalij, your slave and servant.'"⁶ It is probable that the Shaikh had been accustomed to veil his face for a long time, and it was said that he possibly did so to avoid being recognized when he travelled from place to place—but God knows the truth. I heard from a trusted and intimate associate of the Shaikh that one day in Kashmīr the Emperor sent Shaikh Abū-'l-Fazl and Ḥakīm Abū-'l-Fath⁷ to wait upon the Shāh, and one of them,⁸ agreeably to the Emperor's order, said, "Shāh how would it be if you were to raise your veil, so that I might see your comeliness?" He would not comply and said, "I am a poor beggar; let me alone, and vex me no more."⁹ The Hakīm, with

١. قبول نهائید. Both MSS. have زیادی نہیں.

2. عذایت کنید MS. (A) has کنید.

3 A corps d'élite. Abū-'l-Fazl says, in his stilted and obscure style, "They are called Aḥadīs because they are fit for a harmonious unity." They were employed in the Civil Departments of the Administration as well as in the Army. From the *Āin-i-Akbarī* we learn that their pay was Rs. 25 per *mensem* in the case of Tūrānīs and Persians, and Rs. 20 in the case of Hindūstānīs. If employed to collect the revenue they received Rs. 15 per *mensem*, and were called *bārāwardī*, which we may translate by "seconded." The lower pay of those employed in collecting the revenue is simply a recognition of the invariable Asiatic rule that all those concerned in collecting what is due to Government will also collect what is not due to themselves. Vide *Āin-i-Akbarī*, *passim*.

4. Vide supra.

5 Or, perhaps more probably, "in whose custody the Shāh was."

6 The Shaikh evidently had cause of complaint against Qalij Khān. The expression seems to mean that Qalij Khān had at first professed devotion to him as a holy man, and had afterwards treated him with coolness and indifference, taking his cue from his superior at Court.

7 Vide *infra* Chapter III, No. VIII, also Vol. II *passim*, and *Āin-i-Akbarī* II (trans. Blochmann), 424, 425 *et passim*.

8 Evidently Abū-'l-Fath, from what follows.

9 پیشتر (text). Both MSS. have بیشتر, which is clearly the correct reading.

his usual impudence and insolence,¹ stretched forth his hand, and endeavoured to pull off the veil. The *Shah* objected, and becoming² angry said, "God forbid! I am not leprous or deformed, behold! See my face!" and he rent the collar of his garment and threw the veil from his face on to the ground, and said, "Hakim, you have now seen my face, but, please God, the honoured One, you shall, in the space of a fortnight,³ see what the outcome of this matter will be." Fifteen days had not passed when the *Hakim*, in the course of that very journey, died of the complaint of hepatic diarrhoea.⁴ And countless other miracles of this sort are related of the *Shaykh*.

One day the Emperor said to him "Shah, either become like me, or make me like yourself." He answered, "How can we, who have abandoned worldly objects,⁵ become like you? If you will come and sit beside us, in order that you may become even as us."

XXXIV MIR SAYYID 'ALI'U'D-DIN OF AWADH⁶

(May God have mercy upon him.)

He possessed sublime perfections⁷ of nature and manifested miraculous powers, and gave clear proofs (of his sanctity).⁸ He was one of God's most wondrous works and many miracles are related of him. Notwithstanding the glorious position and exalted degree (as a saint) to which he attained he would sometimes declare holy mysteries and sacred truths in verse,⁹ and this opening couplet by him is the admiration of the world —

"I know not what colour and scent that smiling¹⁰ rose hath,

"With which the birds of every meadow hold converse"

¹ Badaoni had no liking for Abu'l Fath, who had great influence over the Emperor, and was one of those who led him astray in religious matters.

² در غصب فَدَدَ MS. (A) has فَدَدَ.

³ ایسا در مهملت carelessly omitted from MS. (B)

⁴ اسہال کیدی MS. (B) has نامزادان

⁵ Ājudhyā, near the modern Faizābad

⁶ The text here has مُنْقَعَاتٍ, though both MSS. have مُنْقَعَاتٍ, which is the reading which I have followed.

⁷ حَفَرَ - صَاحِبُ حَفَرٍ is the plural of حَفَرٌ "that which convinces"

⁸ Strictly orthodox Muslims are inclined to regard poetry with suspicion

⁹ Lit. "laughing" A "laughing rose" is a rose with its mouth open, i.e., a full blown rose. MS. (B) reads وَدَدَ, which means "self growing"

And he has composed a *tarjī‘-band*¹ of which this is the refrain :—

“ View with the eyes of thy heart nothing except the Friend,
“ Whatsoever thou seest regard as a manifestation of Him.”

And Shaikh ‘Irāqī (may God² sanctify his soul!) has said on the same subject :—

Refrain.

“ The world is outward show ; its reality is the Friend,
“ If thou lookest to reality, He is everything.”³

And another has said :—

Refrain.

“ The world is a ray from the Face of the Friend,
“ All things existing are the shadow of Him.”

And I have written the following :—

Refrain.

“ He is the kernel of the world, the world is nought but the shell,

“ But what of kernel and of shell, when all things are He ?”⁴

Many of the holy men of the time have sat at the *Mir*’s feet,⁵ one of them being his own worthy son, Mir Sayyid Māhrū who walks in the footsteps of his illustrious father. Another was Mir Sayyid ‘Alī-yi-Nalhari,⁶ who was subject to overpowering

The text follows this reading but gives ﴿اَنْدَس﴾, the reading of MS. (A) as a footnote variant. I follow MS. (A).

1 The *tarjī‘band* opens with a *maṭla‘* like the *Ghazal* and consists of strophes or stanzas, each containing from five to eleven couplets. Between each stanza is inserted the *band* or refrain, a couplet which is of the same metre with the stanza, but which has a different rhyme.

2 The word *الله* is not in MS. (A). If it be omitted the verb becomes passive and the benediction is, “ may his soul be sanctified ! ”

3 MS. (B) omits *وَ* before *مَهْنِي* and reads *كُنْ* for *كَذِي*, two very careless errors.

4 The purport of all these refrains is the same. They voice the pantheism of the *Sūfīs*.

5 Lit. have risen from his skirt.

6 The reading is clear in both MSS. and in the text. I cannot identify the place. It may very likely be Bilehrī (بِلَهْرِي) which much resembles “ Nalharī ” (نَلْهَرِي) in the Persian character. Bilehrī is a *pargana* town in the *sarkār* of Awadh. *Aīn-i-Akbarī* II. (trans. Jarrett), 174.

fits of religious ecstasy, and always remained secluded, and in whom a wonderful degree of religious poverty and separation from the world¹ was apparent. He spoke wonderfully well on the mysticism of the *Sufis*. I, in company with Husain Khan,² 63. waited on him³ in Kant n Gula⁴ in the *sarkar* of Sambal and received much profit from his precious utterances,—praise be to God therefor!

Mir Sayyid 'Ali used always to say in his prayers, "O God! make me a martyr!" Accordingly on one occasion some of the robbers of that town, which is a noted den of thieves, entered the *Mir's* house at midnight, and an outcry was raised. The *Mir*, notwithstanding his ninety years of age and his bodily feebleness, seized an iron mace, and shouting out "Allah, Allah!" followed the thieves, wounding and sending to hell one or two of them. At last an arrow struck him in a vital spot and he attained the rank of a martyr. This event occurred in the year H 993 (A D 1589 90), and the words "What has happened to that perfect spiritual guide?"⁵ were found to give the date.

XXXV SHAIKH HAMZAH OF LAKHNAU

(May the mercy of God be upon him!)⁶

He is the grandson of Malik Adam, the Kakai,⁷ who was one of the nobles of Sultan Sikandar, and Ibrahim Lodi.⁸ He lived

¹ The word used is غریت, which means 'exit,' "sojourning in a strange land," just as سر means "a stranger" or "foreigner." I take the meaning of the passage to be that Mir Sayyid 'Ali regarded this world merely as a place in which he sojourned for a time looking for a better country. It may be thought, that as سر has come to mean in Hindustani, and in Indian Persian, "poor," Badaoni, whose style is characteristically Indian uses غریت in the sense of "poverty."

² Badaoni's first patron. Vide supra passim.

³ Evidently Mir Sayyid 'Ali.

⁴ Husain Khan's jagir. The modern Shahjahanpur, in Rohilkhand.

⁵ 3 + 5 + 300 + 4 + 1 + 50 + 40 + 200 + 300 + 4 + 20 + 1 + 40 + 30 = 998

⁶ MS (A) has اے اللہ رحمۃ. The text and (B) have اللہ رحمۃ.

⁷ An Afghan tribe. "The Kalar country on the Indus frontier is about a hundred miles square, and extends from the Waziri border on the north to the Baloch border on the south." Below a "Races of Afghanistan," 91 94 *In-i Akbari* I (trans. Blochmann), 377.

⁸ The second and third (and last) *Sultans* of the Lodi dynasty. Ibrahim was conquered by Babar at Panipat, and slain.

always by the tomb of his grandfather. The tomb of Malik Adam is of the length of two ordinary tombs, or more.

Shaikh Hamzah was powerfully affected by a mysterious attraction towards God. He was of commanding presence and great stature, and from time to time he took walks in the city, striding along like a tiger, and carrying stones in his hand, which he would throw around him in all directions, never, however, hitting anybody with them. He recited very sweetly, and was always reading the glorious *Qur'ān*. He paid great attention to any person whom he considered to be well disposed, summoning such to his presence. God be praised that I was one of them. He used to read omens. For the rest, most people were terrified by his behaviour,¹ and would not frequent his society, lest some evil should happen to them.

XXXVI. SHAIKH PIRAK.

(*May God have mercy upon him!*)

He was also a native of Lakhnau. He used to live secluded in a cave in the forest, in the banks of the river Kūdī,² remote from any habitation and so concealed that nobody could find the way thither. He broke his fast (no oftener than) once in every week, after the Friday prayers. In his house there was a decrepit old man who used to bring to him for his meal a fragment of dry bread and some of the fruit of a plantain tree, which (*the Shaikh*) had planted with his own hand. If anyone had embarked on an arduous enterprise he would come at that appointed time³ and sit at the door of the *Shaikh*'s cell, but the *Shaikh* would never speak.⁴

When Husain Khān was governor of Lakhnau I went with a friend named 'Abdu-'r-Rahmān, who was Husain Khān's deputy, to endeavour to obtain an interview with the *Shaikh*. We found

1 حركات و سکنات lit. "his movements and restings."

2 I think the Guntī river, on which Lakhnau is situated, must here be meant. I can find no river or stream in Awadh bearing the name of Kūdī or Gūdī.

3 I.e., the time when the *Shaikh* broke his fast.

4 This may mean that the visitor would never speak, but the statement refers more probably to the *Shaikh*. The visitor's idea apparently was that he had made a pilgrimage, the merit of which would benefit him, without any advice or consolation from the *Shaikh*.

him nothing but skin, as it were, stretched over bones and great snakes darted their heads out of their holes both within and without the cave. One of those present was terrified and would have struck at them with his staff, but the Shaikh forbade him by a sign, and said, "What have they taken from you?"

When we asked the little old man concerning him he told us that he had dwelt in that desolate spot for more than thirty years and that the snakes had become quite tame from being with him and never injured anybody. When we were bidding him farewell he made a sign to all of those present to take some fragments of bread, several days old and some dried fruit, which he had before him and my friend offered him a piece of gold which he would not accept. These two holy men died very shortly after that time.

XXXVII SHAIKH MUHAMMAD HUSAIN OF SIKANDRA

Sikandra¹ is a town in the Doab. The Shaikh was one who was mysteriously drawn to God and was subject to fits of religious ecstasy. For fifty years after leaving the public services he lived as a recluse, withdrawn from all people, ever and persistently seated in devotional seclusion, and visited nobody. When I waited on him in the year 974 (A.D. 1566-67) he asked me the meaning of this couplet of Khwaja Hafiz —

"God's forgiveness is greater than our sin

Why utterest thou obscure sayings? Hold thy peace."

I asked him where the difficulty was and he said, "As it was he himself that uttered the obscure saying why did he command silence?" I asked him to explain the couplet and he said, "It occurs to me that the obscure saying may be this, that even our sins are part of His creation, and to say this is to transgress." I remained silent, and he then in like manner commented on the following verse —

"And serve thy Lord till the certainty overtake thee"²

¹ Shaikh Phak and his old attendant

² Sikandra Rao headquarters of the tahsil of the same name in the Aligarh District of the U.P.

وَإِذْ وَكَ حَتَىٰ يَأْتِيَ الْعِصْنُ³ Quran xv 99 'The certainty' is death

He said, "The word حتى ('till') signifies the extreme limit, but there can be no question of an extreme limit here, but apparently this limit might have reference to the second person singular, to which it would be possible to apply it." God knows what his meaning was; and that was the last conversation that we had together.

XXXVIII. SHAIKH 'ABDU-L-WĀHID OF BILGRĀM.

Bilgrām¹ is a dependency of Qaunauj. He is a most learned and accomplished man, much given to austerities and devotions. He has a sublime disposition and attractive qualities, and he follows a sublime religious rule. He used formerly to indulge in ecstatic exercises and sing ecstatic songs in Hindī and fall into trances, but he is now past all this. He has written an appreciative commentary on the *Nuzhatu-'l-arwāk*², and many treatises on the technical terms of the *Sufis*, one of them named *Sanābil*,³ and many other able compositions besides. Although he is the disciple of another he has profited much by the company of Shaikh Husain of Sikandra, and used to come every year from Bilgrām for the Shaikh's annual festival, but now that he suffers from defective sight he cannot go there and is settled in Qaunauj.

In the year 977 (A.D. 1569-70), when I arrived in Bilgrām from Lucknow, the Shaikh came to visit me, on my sick bed,⁴ and his was the first visit that had on my wounds the effect of ointment, and he said, "These wounds are the roses of love." It so happened that at the same time the venerable Shaikh 'Abdu'llāh Badāoni came there, like an invisible spirit, from Badāon, and I am convinced that if ever in my life I experienced a "night of power"⁵ it was that night. The *Mir* has a genius

¹ The well-known *tahṣīl* town in the Hardoi District, famous for its Sayyids and learned men.

² "The joy (or purity) of souls," evidently a *Sufi*-istic treatise.

³ "Ears of corn."

⁴ Badāoni had been severely wounded by the relatives of a boy whom he had assaulted.

⁵ A mysterious night in the month of Ramazān, the precise date of which is said to have been known only to Muhammad and a few of the companions. See *Qur'ān* xcvi. The excellences of this night are said to be innumerable, and it is believed that during its solemn hours the whole animal and vegetable creation bow down in humble adoration to the Almighty. Hughes, *Dict. of Islām*, s.v. *Lailutu-'l-Qadr*.

for poetry and he wrote of a witty, beloved and acceptable friend named Rājā the following couplet :

“ Thoughts of thee have made my heart their throne,
Never will my heart have room for any but thee ”

Do not depart in anger (lit quarrel) as thou comest first
in peace

For a moment do thou sit with kindness, so that I may get
out of my own self

CHAPTER II

AN ACCOUNT OF THE LEARNED MEN, MOST OF WHOM THE AUTHOR HAS MET, OR FROM WHOM HE HAS RECEIVED INSTRUCTION

Besides those learned men whom the author has met, the large number of those whom he has not seen, but who are well known in all parts of the land, exceede the bounds of computation and the limits of enumeration. Of those whom the author has known one is that master of masters, Shaikh Hātim of Sambhāl.

I SHAIKH HATIM OF SAMBHĀL¹

He was the pupil of Miyan 'Aziza-llah of Talamha². Taking him in all he had no equal in this generation as a sage versed both in those branches of knowledge which demand the exercise of the reasoning faculty, and in those which demand the exercise of the memory, but especially in eholastic theology, (Quranic) exegesis, practical theology, and Arabic literature. It used to be said that he had, in the course of teaching, gone through the commentary⁶⁷ on the *Miftah*³ and the *Mutawwal*,⁴ from the *bā* of *Būmi 'llah* to the *tā* of "tammata," nearly forty times, and that he had gone through all other advanced works (on theology) as often. He used to tell Makhdum-n'l Mulk that he had no rival in disputation. When Mullā 'Alā'n-d din Lāri took to the *Miyan*, with the greatest assurance, his notes on the commentary on the *'Aqā'id : Nasafi*,⁵ the *Miyan*, after perusing them, discussed the matter with such minuteness of detail that Mullā 'Alā'n-d din was unable to answer him.

¹ *Vide* vol 1 trans Ranking p 423

² *Vide* page 3, note 4

³ The *Miftahu l 'utūm*, a work on grammar and rhetoric. The commentary on it was written by Maula Husṣmu d din al Muwazzīn. *Vide* vol 1, trans Ranking, p 423, note 2

⁴ A commentary on the book called *Talīḥiyyu l Miftah*, *Vide* vol 1, trans Ranking p 423 note 4

⁵ *Vide* vol 11, text, p 56

In scholastic theology the greatest of the Imāms¹ (on him be the mercy of God !) was inferior to the *Miyān*. The *Miyān* was an ascetic and strove much in the way of holiness, and was pious and devout, although he sat in the seat of honour and dignity, exercising absolute authority.

When I, in the time of Bairam Khān,² the Khān-Khānān, re-entered the service of the *Miyān* in Āgra, after an interval of five years, I delivered to him a request for a decision on a point of theology from Shaikh Mubārak³ of Nāgōr, from whom I was at that time receiving instruction. After inquiring of me how I had done during the time of my separation from him, the *Miyān* said, "What sort of a religious teacher is Shaikh Mubārak?" I told him what I knew of the Shaikh's conduct as a *Mullā*, of his piety, his poverty, his striving in the path of holiness, and his commands and prohibitions in religious matters which in those days he took upon himself to issue, declaring them to be binding. He replied, "Yes, indeed. I also have heard him well spoken of, but they say that he holds the *Mahdawī* doctrines. Is this true?" I said, "He believes Mir Sayyid Muḥammad of Jaunpūr⁴ (may his tomb be sanctified !) to have been a great saint, but does not believe him to have been the *Mahdī*." He replied, "What doubt can there be regarding the perfections of the Mir?" Mir Sayyid Muḥammad, *Mir-i-'Adl*,⁵ now deceased and pardoned, who was a pupil of the *Miyān*, was also present; and he said, "Why do they call Mir Sayyid Muḥammad of Jaunpūr the *Mahdī*?" I told him that it was on account of his assumption of the authority to issue authoritative orders and prohibitions in religious matters. Mir Sayyid Muḥammad again questioned me, saying, "Mir 'Abdu'l-Hayy of Khurāsān,⁶ who held the title of *Sadr* for some time, one day spoke ill of the Shaikh to the Khān-

¹ *Scil.* the Imām Abū Ḥanifah, founder of the Hanafī school of jurisprudence.

² *Vide page 8, note 4.*

³ The father of Shaikh Abū-I-Faiz Faizi and Shaikh Abū-l-Fazl. *Vide infra*, No. III.

⁴ *Vide vol. i, trans. Ranking, page 420, note 8, and Aīn-i-Akbarī, i (biog.), p. v.*

⁵ *Vide infra, No. IV.*

⁶ *Vide Aīn-i-Akbarī, i, 468, 471, 480. In the Tabaqāt he is called Khāja*

* Khanda Do you know the reason of this?" I said, "The 68 Shaikh wrote him a note, giving him advice on various religious matters, and among other things advised him to attend prayers with the *Sunnat* congregation in the *Masjid-i-Hayy*¹. This offended 'Abdu'l-Hayy, and he attributed this advice to the Shaikh being a *Mahdawi*, and supposed that he was reproaching him with heresy" Mir Sayyid Muhammad said, "This deduction of the Mir with regard to his own heresy depends upon this syllogism, 'You do not join in the congregational prayers everybody who does not join in the congregational prayers is a schismatic therefore you are a schismatic' But the major proposition is inadmissible. And likewise the syllogism, 'The Shaikh assumes the power of issuing authoritative commands, anybody who issues authoritative commands is the *Mahdi*, etc., is unsound'" The *Miyān* then said, "I will seal this application for a decision,² but I will retain it in the same manner³ as I have retained another application for a decision which was sent to me under the seal of some of the elders of this place, and in respect of which I have some doubts. Now do you take this to Shaikh Baha'u'd-din,

'Abdu'l-Hayy, and is said to have been an *Amir*. He was for some time Mir-i-'Adl or chief justice of the empire. He was a jovial judge, and on one occasion with Miran Sadr-i-Jahān the chief ecclesiastical authority of the empire, exceeded the bounds of temperance at a drinking party. Akbar was much amused by the sight of his high dignitaries in their cups and quoted the verse of Hafiz,

در دور پادشاه خطا نهش حرم پوش * حافظ قرآن کش شد و معلقی پیاله نوش

"In the reign of the King who pardons faults and cloaks sins the reciter of the Qur'an has become a tospot, and the judge a tippler."

¹ 'The Mosque of the Living God'

² *Istifta* (إِسْتِفْتَة), an application for an authoritative decision on a point of doctrine or ecclesiastical law, made to a *mufti*, or ecclesiastical judge having power to issue such decisions. The decision itself is a *fatwa*.

³ A word دکر دی occurs here in the text which has puzzled the editor. He says in a note that in some MSS it is written دکر دی, and it is thus written in MS (B). I think that there is very little doubt that the expression is دکر دی 'as it were in pledge'. The omission of the second stroke of the *gaf*, though common enough in MSS and almost universal in Persia at the present day, sometimes does puzzle Indian Maulavis.

who is an accepted *muftī*, and say to him that my excuse of lack of books of reference, owing to my being on a journey, is perfectly comprehensible, but that, as to the tradition on which he has authenticated that (other) *fatwā*, it will be well if he sends me his original authenticated *fatwā*"; and say to him further, "The long and the short of the matter is that you have delivered a *fatwā* authorizing men to sell their children, when impelled thereto by hunger. In the first place this tradition is solely an *Ibrāhīm Shāhī* tradition,¹ and is not in accordance with any other standard theological works, and it is well known that the *Ibrāhīm Shāhī* traditions are not accepted by the learned as of sufficient authority to support a *fatwā*, and if you maintain that a *muftī* is competent to give the preference to a superseded² tradition, I reply without hesitation that the expression used in the
69 *Ibrāhīm Shāhī* tradition is that it is lawful for fathers (ابوين),³ in time of distress, to sell their offspring, and it is well known that the word ابوين includes both father and grandfather, as we find in the book on marriage:—"Any person whose fathers (ابوين) were Muslims is equal to him whose ancestors attained to the honour of (accepting) *Islām*," and it is agreed that the word ابوين here means "father and grandfather," not "father and mother." On the assumption that this much is granted why should it not be (ruled) that the authority to sell children vests in both grandfather and father, acting jointly; and what proof is there that such authority should be assigned to the single individual? He then retained Shaikh Mubārak's application for a decision, and gave the former application to me. When I brought it to Shaikh Mubārak he was loud in his praises of

¹ These words clearly refer to some collection of *fatwās* compiled in the reign of a king of the name of *Ibrāhīm Shāh*, but I have been unable to trace the collection or to ascertain who the *Ibrāhīm Shāh* was in whose reign it was compiled.

² مرجع (marjū'ah). This is another word which has puzzled the editor of the text. مرجع (marjū'), of which this word is the feminine form, signifies 'referred,' 'brought back,' or 'sent back,' and may be used of a judgment or decision which is sent back for revision.

³ This word is an Arabic dual, and signifies, literally, 'the two fathers.'

Miyān Hātim's knowledge of theology and said, "Tell him, after conveying my salutations, that I did not affix my seal to the application for a decision as I expected that this occasion would arise." When I showed the document to Shaikh Bahā'u-d-dīn he said, "As other *muftis* had confirmed the decision I trusted to what they said, and did not go deeply into the question, and there certainly was negligence on my part." The readiness of Shaikh Bahā'u-d-dīn, the *mufti*, who was a man of high position and great virtue, to acknowledge his fault, was evidence of his perception and love of truth, and of his rectitude and justice —

"At the head of that letter which Aṣaf wrote

He wrote, 'God had mercy on the most just.'

Miyān Hātim, after enjoying the blessing of the opportunity of teaching and imparting instruction for a period of seventy years, passed away from this transitory world in the year H 968 (A D 1560-61). The chronogram of his death has been already given, the words, "With the King he is powerful,"¹ were found to give the date of his death. He left his son, Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Hātim by name, as his successor as a religious leader and Shaikh, hnt 70 net as *Mulla*. He too rejoined his venerable father in the year H 989 (A D 1581) and left some degenerate sons as his heirs.

"How long shall I cherish thy blandishments the complaisance of stony hearted mistresses (idols)?

"These degenerate sons do not call to mind their father"

II MAULĀNA 'ABDU'L-LĀH OF SULTANPUR²

He was of the *Anjār*³ tribe. His ancestors came to Soltānpūr and settled there. He was one of the greatest sages of his time,

¹ ملک مکہم ملک ملک. These words, which may also be translated, 'He is with the mighty King,' give the date 968. The chronogram has already been given on p. 47 of vol. II (text).

² Maulāna 'Abdu'l-Lāh, Makhdumu'l-Mulk was the famous leader of the orthodox party in the reign of Akbar and the persecutor of Shaikh Mubārak, father of Abu'l-Fażl. Vide vol. II, text, pp. 19, 44, 84, 151, 154, 193, 202, 203, 204, 209, 255, 263, 267, 270, 273, 277, 311. In his later years he advanced some heterodox opinions, but they were not of the kind that gained favour at court. Vide also vol. I, trans. Ranking, pp. 506, 513-519, 521, 523, 525, 534.

³ Apparently an Afghan tribe.

and had not his equal in this age, especially in his knowledge of Arabic, Quranic exegesis, scholastic theology, history, and all those branches of learning which depend upon the exercise of the memory. He has left wonderful compositions, worthy of himself, the best known among them being the books known as '*Iṣmat-i-Anbiyā*'¹ and *Sharḥu Shamā'il-i-n-Nabi*'² (may God bless and save him!). From the Emperor who now has his resting place in paradise (*scil.* Hnmāyūn) he received the title of *Makhdūmu-l-Mulk*, and also that of *Shaikhū-l-Islām*. He always strenuously exerted himself to enforce the holy law, and was a bigoted *Sunnī*. Owing to his exertions many heretics and schismatics went to the place prepared for them. He used, owing to his extreme bigotry, to aver of the third volume of the *Rawżatu-l-Āḥbāb*³ that it was not the work of Mir⁴ Jamālu-d-dīn⁵ the traditionist. In the year⁶ in which Gujarāt was conquered and while Maulānā 'Abdu-llāh possessed great honour and dignity as agent of the exalted Court in Fathpūr, I, who had just then returned from my journey to the Panjāb, went in company with Shaikh Abū-l-Fazl, who had not yet entered the Imperial service, and Hājī Sultān of Thāne-sar to see *Makhdūmu-l-Mulk*. We saw that he had before him the third volume (of the *Rawżatu-l-Āḥbāb*), and he said to us,

71 "See, what mischief those who are followed in this land have wrought in the faith," and thus saying he showed us that couplet which occurs in the encomium :—

"This alone is sufficient to prove his resemblance to God,⁷
That it has been doubted that he himself was God."

1 'The protection (or continence) of the prophets.'

2 'An exposition of the qualities of the prophet,' i.e., Muḥammad, hence the benedictory phrase which follows.

3 A work by 'Atā'u-llāh, known as *Jamāl-i-Husainī*, on the history of Islām.

4 The text has *Amīr*. I have followed the reading of both MSS.

5 *Vide* vol. i, trans. Ranking, p. 449.

6 A.D. 1572. *Vide* vol. ii, text, p. 142.

7 MS. (A) has حَقْ نَهَّارِي which will not scan, and may be taken as the gloss of a pious *Sunnī*, scandalised by the attribution of the Godhead to 'Ali.

and said, "He has passed beyond mere schism here, and has placed the question of his disbelief in quite another category, avouching his belief in the doctrine of incarnations. I am firmly resolved to burn this book in the presence of a *Shâfi'i*." I, notwithstanding that I was unknown to any present,¹ and had never met Maḥdūmu'l-Mulk before, made bold to say, "This compleat is a translation of those verses which are attributed to the *Imām Shāfi'i*² (may God have mercy upon him!).

He looked towards me sharply and asked, "From what are you quoting?" I said, "From the commentary an Amir's *dīrān*." He said, "The commentator, Qāfi Mir Ḥusain-i-Midi,³ has also been accused of schism." I said, "This is wandering from the point." Shaikh Abū'l-Faẓl and Ḥāfi Sultān,⁴ with their fingers on their lips, were every now and then signing to me to be silent. Again I said, "I have heard from some trustworthy men that the third volume is not the work Mir Jamāla'd-dīn, but is the work of his son Sayyid Mirak Shāh, or some other person, and that it is for this reason that its style differs from the style of the first two volumes, being poetical, and not the style peculiar to traditionists." He answered me, saying, "My child, in the second volume also I have found passages which clearly prove the heresy and disbelief of the author, and I have written notes on them. One of these passages is the statement by the author that 'Ali, the leader of the faithful (may God be gratified with him!),⁵ on the occasion when Talḥah (may God be gratified with him!) was the first to swear allegiance to him, said, 'My hand is withered and thine allegiance is worthless,' that is to say, that 'Ali Murtazā, the leader of the faithful, actually took as a bad omen the fact that Talḥah's arm was withered—that arm which

¹ This translation is conjectural. The reading of the text and the MSS. is حَدَّى مِنْ حَدَّى لِمَنْ حَدَّى يَا مِنْ حَدَّى. I cannot ascertain the meaning of the word حَدَّى.

² The Imām Abū 'Abdu'l-Ḥāfi Muḥammad bin Idris Shāfi'i, founder of one of the four principal *Sunni* schools of jurisprudence.

³ Sic in both MSS. the text has *Mibāṣi*. ⁴ Vide No XXXVII.

⁵ The words "'Ali' and the benedictory phrase are omitted from the text, but are to be found in both MSS.

in the battle of Uhud¹ was the shield of his holiness the prophet 72 (may God bless and save him and his family!), and was pierced with eleven wounds,—a presumption expressly forbidden by the holy law. God forbid that such should be the case! It is impossible that ‘Ali should have followed such a custom, and it is impossible to believe that he did so.” I said, “There is manifestly a distinction between foreboding and augury.” Shaikh Abū-l-Fazl secretly pressed my hand and warned me to be silent. ‘Abdu-llāh said to him, “Tell me something about this person (*scil.* Badāoni); who is he?” He and Hājī Sultān then told him something of my affairs, and our meeting passed off quietly. After we had left him my friends said to me, “You have passed through a great danger, but (fortunately) he did not set himself to persecute you. Had he done so who could have saved you?” Maulānā ‘Abdu-llāh, when he first set eyes on Shaikh Abū-l-Fazl, in the early years of the Emperor’s reign, said to his pupils, “What injury will this man not do to the faith?

“When I saw him in his childhood I showed him to those of the faith,

“(Saying) ‘He will work mischief among the souls of men, to your guardianship I entrust him.’”

Maulānā ‘Abdu-llāh departed to eternity in Gujarāt in the year H. 990 (A.D. 1582), after his return from the pilgrimage to the glorious city of Makkah, and the chronogram in the following verses was found to give the date of his death:—

Makhdūm-i-Mulk departed and took with him,
As a sign on his forehead, (the words) “the mercy of
God.”

¹ Uhud is a mountain about four miles to the north of Madīnah, where Muḥammad, at the head of 1,000 men, was defeated by the Quraish, who had marched against him to avenge their defeat at Badr. Of the Muslims seventy men were slain, among them Hamzah, the uncle of Muḥammad, and of the infidels twenty-two. Muḥammad was struck down by a shower of stones and wounded in the face with two arrows, on pulling out which his two front teeth dropped out. Vide Qur’ān, c. iii.

When I sought of my heart the date of his death,
It replied to me, "Reckon the second hemistich (of
these verses)!"¹

He left behind him some degenerate sons who are unworthy of mention, and here I may remark that all the rising generation give cause of complaint to their progenitors, for indeed it seems that the climate of this age will cherish, nay will produce, none better than such fellows —

I see no good in the world,
This seems to be the age of impotence

This state of affairs reminds us of the story that a certain king who was a bigoted *Sunni* led an army against Sibzawar, which is a hotbed of schism, its inhabitants being all fanatics. The chief men of the place came out and made their representations to the king, saying, "We are Mosalmans, what fault have we committed that you should have brought an army against us?" The King replied, "Your fault is your zeal for schism." They replied, "This is a false accusation that has been brought against us." The king said, "Produce from your city in support of your allegation a man of the name of Abu Bakr," and I will swear from my intention of slaying you and of plundering your city." After much search and with much difficulty they produced before the King an unknown pauper, saying, "This man is called by the name which you desired." After observing the man's old garments and despicable condition, the king asked, "Had you nobody better than this to produce before me?" They said, "O king, ceremony apart, the climate

¹ There is something wrong with this chronogram. The values of the letters of the words composing the second hemistich give either 1188 or 1003, according to the value, 5 or 400, given to the letter *س* in the word *سَعْد*. The words *مَصْرُعْ ثَانِي* ('the second hemistich') give the date 961. There may, perhaps, be an enigma concealed in the verses, though none is indicated.

² The name of the first *Khalifah*. The *Sh'ahs* do not give to their sons the names of Abu Bakr, Umar, and 'Uthman, which were those of the first three *Khalifahs*, whom they execrate as usurpers.

of Sabzawār cherishes an Abū Bakr no better than this." And the *Maulavi-yi-ma'navī*¹ (may his tomb be hallowed) refers to this story in his *Masnavī* as follows:—

"This unstable world is a Sabzawār to us,
We, like Bū-Bakrs, live in it mean and despised."

III. SHAikh MUBĀRAK OF NĀGŌR.²

He was one of the great sages of the age and was distinguished among the men of his time and his contemporaries for his piety, devotion, and trust in God. In early life he observed many austeries and strove much in the way of holiness, and was so zealous in enforcing the commands and prohibitions of the holy law that if anybody was present while he was giving religious instruction wearing a golden ring, or silk clothing, or red hose, or red or yellow garments, he at once made him remove them, and if anyone appeared with long breeches, descending below the heel, he immediately had them torn to the proper length. If, while walking through the streets, he heard the noise of any singing he would start violently. In his zeal for God he was so devoted to singing that he was scarcely for a moment of the day at ease without being employed in listening to the chanting of hymns, psalms, mystic melodies, and music.

74 In short he followed many and various rules of life. For some time during the reigns of the Afghān Emperors he used to keep

¹ Maulānā Jalālu-d-dīn Rūmī, author of the *Masnavī-yi-ma'navī*.

² Shaikh Mubārak of Nāgōr was the father of Shaikh Faizī and Shaikh Abū-l-Fazl. At one time he held the Mahdavī doctrines and was persecuted by Makhdūmu-l-Mulk, but when Abū-l-Fazl attained a high position at court the orthodox were, in their turn, harassed and persecuted. Shaikh Mubārak was the composer and chief signatory of the instrument which declared the emperor to be the highest authority on religious and ecclesiastical as well as in secular matters, an instrument which utterly broke the power of the 'Ulamā. Shaikh Mubārak afterwards joined Akbar's new religion, 'the divine faith.' *Vide* vol. ii, text, pp. 32, 198, 204, 270, 312, 348; also *Aīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 490. Shaikh Mubārak often changed his religious opinions, having first become a Mahdawī, then a Naqshbandī, then a Ḥamadānī, and then a Shi'ah, before he joined the 'divine faith.'

until, on the seventeenth of *Zi-Qa'da*, A.H. 1001 (Aug. 15, 1593), he passed away from this world in Lāhor. He was a *mullā* whose like, as regards the scope of his attainments, has never been seen, and the pity is that his love of the world with its pomps, concealed under the garment of holy poverty, left no room for the love of the faith of Islām. The author, in his youth, spent some 75 years in Āgra under his tuition, and owes him much, but can no longer feel himself fettered by his indebtedness to him, owing to his numerous acts of worldliness and impiety, his devotion to wealth and pomp, his time serving, his deceit and double-dealing, and his zeal for innovations in the faith. "Answer, God; and either we, or ye, follow the direction, or are in a manifest error."¹

In short, the saying of the common people, that the son brings curses on his father, is exemplified in his case, just as it happened in the case of Yazid,² in respect of whom some impudently and presumptuously say, "Curses be on Yazid and on his father!"

IV. MĪR SAYYID MUHAMMAD, *Mir-i-'Adl.*³ OF AMROHA.

Amroha⁴ is a *pargana* town in the *Sarkār* of Sambhal. Mir Sayyid Muhammad was exceedingly pious, devout, and abstemious as though two separate *qasīdah* were indicated. MS. (A) reads قصيدة بْن زهير كعب and MS. (B) reads قصيدة بْن زهير بْن زهير كعب بن زهير. The editor has inserted both readings, which are alternative. For mention of this *qasīdah*, vide p. 4 and note 1.

۱ قُلْ أَللّٰهُ وَإِنَّا إِلَيْهِ مُتَّعِنُوْمُدِينٌ أَوْ فِي ضَلَالٍ مُّدِينٌ Qu'rān xxxiv, 24.

The answer is to the question, "Who provideth food for you from heaven and earth?"

² Yazid, the son of Mu'awiyah, the second *Khalifah* of the house of Ummaiyah. He is celebrated in Muhammadan history as the opponent of Ḥusain, the son of 'Alī, who was killed at Karbalā in A.H. 61 (A.D. 680-81).

³ i.e., Chief justice. For mention of Mir 'Sayyid Muhammad, who was one of the 'Ulamā, vide vol. ii, text, pp. 220, 222, 245.

⁴ Now the headquarters of the *talqīl* of the same name in the Murādābād

aus Ha and the author's father were in their yaath fellow-students under various teachers in the city of Sambhal, and also in Badaon under Mir Sayyid Jalāl, a sage who had studied the traditional sayings of the prophet under Mir Sayyid Rafī'a d-dīn. Mir Sayyid Muḥammad, after completing his course of studies, employed himself in teaching, and towards the end of his life attained to a high position in the Imperial Court, receiving the appointment of *Mir-i-'Adl*. In this high post he showed himself to be scrupulously just, straightforward and trustworthy, so that even the *Qā'iū'l Quzat*¹ of the time, out of respect to Mir Sayyid Muḥammad's age, refrained from his customary double-dealing and base behaviour, and during the Mir's tenure of his post no heretic or schismatic had an opportunity of damaging the faith of Islam.

After the death of Mir Sayyid Maḥammad the title of *Mir-i-'Adl* was applied to and assumed by many persons.

The *Mir*, owing to his hereditary connection with me and the long standing affection which he had for me, advised me, when I first appeared at court, to have nothing to do with any *madad-i-76 ma'dah*, and to refrain from subjecting myself to the base actions of the *Sadr*s, recommending me to enter the Imperial service in any post I could obtain, far that the *Sadr*s were tyrannical egotists. Owing to my disregard of his advice I naturally experienced what I have experienced, and suffered what I have suffered. The *Mir* was appointed to the government of Bakkar² in the year H 984 (A.D. 1576-77), and in that city departed this life in the year H 986 (A.D. 1578-79).³

District of the United Provinces *Vide Imperial Gazetteer* (new series), v, 330 and *Ain-i-Akbari*, ii, 283.

¹ Badaoni apparently uses this title as equivalent to that of *Sadr-i-Jahan* who was chief of the *qdūs*. If this be so, the person referred to is probably *Shaykh 'Abdu'n-Nabi* *Vids infra*, No. X, or perhaps *Qāfiya qub Na'ib IX*.

² He was sent to Bakkar on the dispersal of the 'Ulama from court.

³ According to the *Tarikh-i-Maqam* Mir Sayyid Muḥammad arrived at Bakkar on Ramaḍan 11 A.H. 983 (Dec 11th, 1575) and died there Silaḥan 8, A.H. 984 (Oct 3rd 1576).

V. SHAIKH GADĀ'Ī OF DIHLĪ, THE KAMBŪ.¹

He was the son and successor of Shaikh Jamālī, the famous poet. He perfected himself in exoteric learning and enjoyed the society of the learned men of the age, being much benefited by their companionship. By means of the claim which intimate friendship gave him on Bairam Khān he obtained the appointment of Sadru-s-Sudūr² in India, and was for several years resorted to, as an authority on religious questions, by the sages and principal men of Hindūstān, Khurāsān, Transoxiana, and 'Irāq. He was a born poet, and used to compose and sing hymns and religious songs after the Indian manner,³ to which pursuits he was passionately addicted.

After he had dissociated himself from Bairam Khān, the Khān-i-Khānān, and returned from the neighbourhood of Bīkānīr to Dihli,⁴ he was honoured and esteemed at Court as before. When in Dihli he always used to attend the shrines of the saints there (may God sanctify their souls!) on their anniversaries, and used to hold assemblies with great pomp and circumstance. He left this world for the next either in the year H. 976

¹ Kambū (spelt Kambūh in vol. ii, *passim*) is the name of a tribe. According to a proverb the Afghāns are the first, the Kambūs the second, and the Kashmīris the third sets of scoundrels. Shaikh Gadā'ī was one of those who attempted to persuade Akbar to butcher Hemū in cold blood. *Vide* vol. ii, text, p. 16.

² Shaikh Gadā'ī was Akbar's first Sadru-s-Sudūr or Sadr-i-Jahān, a very important post. The dignity of the Sadr, especially before the advent of the Mughul dynasty, had been very great. 'It was he who legalized the accession of a new king. During the reign of Akbar also he ranked as the fourth officer of the empire. His power was immense. He was the highest law officer and had the powers which Administrators-General have among us; he was in charge of all lands devoted to ecclesiastical and benevolent purposes and possessed an almost unlimited authority of conferring such lands independently of the king. He was also the highest ecclesiastical law officer, and might exercise the powers of a High Inquisitor.' *Vide* Aīn-i-Akbarī, i, 270. Shaikh Gadā'ī was, like his patron, a Shī'ah. *Vide* vol. ii, text, *passim*.

³ صورت هندی می بست MS. (B) has, wrongly, صورت for صورت.

⁴ In A.D. 1560. *Vide* vol. ii, text, p. 38.

(A.D. 1568-69) or in the year H. 979 (A.D. 1571-72),¹ leaving behind him sons no better than the sons of most men in this degenerate age, "as has been decreed for these days, and in accordance with the decree of God the all wise."

The following verses are an extract from the poems of Shāhī Gada-i —

- "At times my soul, at times my heart became the abode of 77 grief,
- "I ever grieve o'er thee, as I travel, stage by stage
- "Be not forgetful of my grief and pain,
- "For there is no moment of my life which is not occupied with thoughts of thee
- "I have bound my freezied heart in thy tresses,
- "Myself am bound in those musky chains
- "If desires could be easily accomplished by the surrender of life
- "No difficulties would remain to true lovers
- "Gada-i, thou hast lost thy life in unsuccessful endeavour!
- "I have not obtained my desire from the lips of my friend '

I have copied these verses from the memoir of Mir 'Alī'u'd-daulah, which is not to be trusted. I suspect that they are not Gada-i's. But God knows the truth!

VI MIYĀN JAMĀL KHĀV, MUFTI OF DHILLI²

He was the pupil of his own worthy father, Shāhī Nāṣiru'd-dīn, and the brother of Miyān Ladan. He was of the Kambū tribe. He was one of the most learned men of his time both in those branches of knowledge which depend on the reasoning

¹ In the former year, according to vol. II (text, p. 110) where the chronogram حُكْمَ الْمَوْتِ ('You are dead, you great hog'), giving the date 975, confirms the statement in the text.

² Vide *Zīn adkbari* 1, 544. He is classed by Abu'l Faḍl as one of those who understand sciences resting on testimony only, i.e. as a *zāir* (*shayyār*).

faculty, and in those which depend on the memory, but especially in practical and scholastic theology, knowledge of Arabic, and expounding the *Qur'an*, in which studies he was unequalled. He used to speak authoritatively on the commentaries on the *Miftāh*,¹ and it is said that he had, in the course of teaching, gone through the book '*Aṣdī*', one of the most advanced works, forty times. He used to impart religious instruction, and never went to the houses of kings or nobles, but always affected the company of magistrates who were honoured and respected. Most of his pupils have become wise men. He passed away to the next world in the year H. 984 (A.D. 1576-77) at the age of more than ninety years.

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VII. QĀZĪ JALĀLU'D-DĪN OF MULTĀN.²

He came originally from the neighbourhood of the fortress of Bakkar.³ He was a profound sage, ever speaking the truth and loving it. In early life he was a merchant, and in middle age he employed himself in teaching. He taught in Āgra for some years, and then, in consequence of certain events which have been narrated in the detailed account of Akbar's reign, was employed in the high post of *Qāzī*, after the dismissal of *Qāzī Ya'qūb*. In respect of his integrity and trustworthiness he was the best of *Qāzīs*, but, owing to the misfortune of his having a corrupt son, a handsome blockhead, and in consequence of the machinations of all the base pimps about the Court, his own lack of worldly wisdom, and his inability to appreciate the spirit of the age and the ideas of his contemporaries, he was banished to

¹ *Vide* vol. i, trans. Ranking, p. 428, note 2.

² *Qāzī Jalālu-d-dīn* is classed by *Abū-l-Fażl* in the same category as *Jamāl Khān*, *vide* *Āin-i-Akbarī*, i, 546. He was appointed *Qāzī'u-l-Qazāt* on the degradation of *Shaikh Ya'qūb* for refusing to pronounce *mut'ah* marriages to be legal. He was one of the signatories of the deed which recognised Akbar as the chief ecclesiastical authority in the empire. *Vide* vol. ii, text, pp. 209, 270.

³ Bhakkar, formerly headquarters of the Bhakkar *Sarkār* of the *Šūba* of Multān, *vide* *Āin-i-Akbarī*, ii, 333. Now headquarters of the *tāḥṣīl* of the same name in the Miyānwālī District, Panjāb; *vide* Imperial Gazetteer of India (new series), viii, 44.

the Dakan,¹ the rulers of which had, having heard of his staunchness to Islām and his preaching of the word of God, honoured him to the utmost extent of their power. From the Dakan he was privileged to perform the pilgrimage to the holy house of God, and there replied, "Here am I," to the summons of God.

VIII Qāzī Tawā'is̄

Tawā'is̄² is a dependency of Khurāsān. He was a most trustworthy man, but, as he was devoid of learning, some of his decisions were wrong. He had suffered much at the hands of the wealthy men of his time,³ and was therefore always much prejudiced against them, and would, as far as possible, show favour to the poorer party, even though he were in the wrong. He did not understand that in these days it is generally the wrong-doer that cries for justice, in which connection Shāh⁴ Abū'l-Kaṣl has said, "If the greatest of the Imāms⁵ had lived in our time he would have written on practical theology otherwise than as he did."

When the Khān-i-Zaman broke out into rebellion he gave a decision to the effect that the seizure of the effects of a rebel was unlawful,⁶ and this decision led to his deposition and the appointment of Qāzī Ya'qūb in his place. Very shortly after his deposition he passed away from this world.

¹ Badāoni here makes it appear that Jalalū d-dīn's banishment was the result of underhand machinations, but as a matter of fact he was banished for forging a draft on the treasury for 500,000 tankas. He was banished to the Dakan in the hope that the Muhammadan kings in Southern India, being bigoted Shāhīs, would have him put to death as a bigoted Sunnī. Vide vol. II, text, 313.

² Probably the same as Tīwāris̄, 'a dependency of Bukhārā, seven parasangs from Bukhārā,' vide Āra-i Akbar, ut, 97.

³ غنیمی زمان MS. (A) has غنیمی بویان and MS. (B) غنیمی زمان. Both of these readings are wrong.

⁴ Abu 'Umarī, one of the four great Sunnī doctors of the law, and founder of the Hanafī school of jurisprudence.

⁵ Vide vol. II, text, p. 100. Qāzī Tawā'is̄, whom I find nowhere described by name, was at the time Akbar's camp Qāzī. The Lakhnau edition of the *Tubaqat* calls him 'Qāzī Tawā'is̄.'

IX. QĀZĪ YA‘QŪB OF MĀNIKPŪR.¹

He was related to Qāzī Fazīlat,² and was well skilled in practical theology and in the principles of that science. He was of a cheerful and open disposition, and used to compose Arabic verses in Indian metres. They say that while he was, for several years, the *Qāzī-u-l-Quzzāt* of India, he used to take aphrodisiac electuaries in large quantities. One day when he was present at a party given by the Emperor, several intoxicating and stimulating drugs were handed round, and were offered to the *Qāzī* among others. He refused them, and when he was asked what sort of drugs he took, one of the Emperor's Hindū favourites immediately replied, "The *Qāzī* takes mercury."³

After his dismissal from the post of *Qāzī-u-l-Quzzāt* he was appointed to be *Qāzī* of Bangāl, and was sent off to that province,⁴ and while there used to use aphrodisiacs to excess, a slave to the violence of his lusts. He was a confederate of Ma'sūm-i-Kābuli in his rebellion⁵ and was in consequence recalled from that province and sentenced to be imprisoned in the fortress of Gwāliyār, and on his way to that place removed the baggage

¹ Mānikpūr was the headquarters of a *sarkār* in the *śuba* of Ilāhābād, *vide* *Aīn-i-Akbarī*, ii, 164.

² Qāzī Ya‘qūb was son-in-law to Qāzī Fazīlat, Qāzī of the army under Shīr Shāh, 'who was popularly known by the more appropriate title of Qāzī Fazīhat.' *Vide* vol. i, trans. Ranking, p. 474 and note 4, and vol. ii, text, p. 101.

³ باری or باری, a Hindī word. Mercury was apparently used as an aphrodisiac.

⁴ According to vol. ii, text, p. 101, Ya‘qūb superseded Tawā'isī as chief *qāzī* in A.H. 974 (A.D. 1567) and was degraded ten years later, so that he must have gone to Bengal in A.H. 984 (A.D. 1576-77).

⁵ *Vide* vol. ii, text, p. 276. The rebellion was first preached at Jaunpūr by Mullā Muḥammad of Yazd, who gave a *fatiwā* or formal decision to the effect that rebellion against Akbar, as an enemy to Islām, was lawful. It broke out in A.D. 1579, the ringleaders being Muḥammad Ma'sūm of Kābul, Muḥammad Ma'sūm Khān Farānkhāndī, Mīr Mu'izzu-l-Mulk, Niyābat Khān, 'Arab Bahādar, and others. Mu'izzu-l-Mulk and Mullā Muḥammad Yazdī were called to the capital, and on their way thither were put to death by being drowned in the Jamna.

the Dakan,¹ the rulers of which land, having heard of his staunchness to Islam and his preaching of the word of God, honoured him to the utmost extent of their power. From the Dakan he was privileged to perform the pilgrimage to the holy house of God, and there replied, "Here am I," to the summons of God.

VIII QĀZI TAWĀ'ISĪ

Tawā'isī² is a dependency of Khurasān. He was a most trustworthy man, but, as he was devoid of learning, some of his decisions were wrong. He had suffered much at the hands of the wealthy men of his time,³ and was therefore always much prejudiced against them, and would, as far as possible, show favour to the poorer party, even though he were in the wrong. He did not understand that in these days it is generally the wrong-doer that cries for justice, in which connection Shaykh 79 Abū'l-Fazl has said, "If the greatest of the Imāms⁴ had lived in our time he would have written on practical theology otherwise than as he did."

When the Khan-i-Zaman broke out into rebellion he gave a decision to the effect that the seizure of the effects of a rebel was unlawful,⁵ and this decision led to his deposition and the appointment of Qāzī Ya'qub in his place. Very shortly after his deposition he passed away from this world.

¹ Badāoni here makes it appear that Jalāl ad-dīn's banishment was the result of underhand machinations, but as a matter of fact he was banished for forging a draft on the treasury for 500 000 tankas. He was banished to the Dakan in the hope that the Muhammadan kings in Southern India, being bigoted Shi'ahs, would have him put to death as a bigoted Sunnī. *Vide* vol. II, text, 313.

² Probably the same as Tāwāwīs, 'a dependency of Bukhara, seven parasangs from Bukhara,' *vide* *Āmūz Akbari*, iii, 97.

³ اعیار زمان MS (A) has اعیار زمان and MS. (B) اعیار زمان. Both of those readings are wrong.

⁴ Abu Hanifah, one of the four great Sunnī doctors of the law, and founder of the *Hanafī* school of jurisprudence.

⁵ *Vide* vol. II, text, p 100. Qāzī Tawā'isī, whom I find nowhere described by name, was at the time Akbar's camp Qāzī. The Lucknow edition of the *Tubaqat* calls him 'Qāzī Tawa'ishī.'

Qazī ‘Abdu-r-Rahīm, the *Qāzī* of Mathura, laid a complaint before the *Shaikh*, to the effect that a wealthy and stiff-necked Brahman of that place had carried off the materials which he, the *Qāzī*, had collected for the construction of a *masjid*, and had built of them an idol-temple, and that, when the *Qāzī* had attempted to prevent him, he had, in the presence of witnesses, opened his foul mouth to curse the prophet (on whom be peace), and had shown his contempt for Muslims in various other ways. When the Brahman was called upon to appear, he disobeyed the *Shaikh's* summons. The Emperor sent Bir Bar and *Shaikh* Abū-l-Fazl to fetch him, and they brought him, and *Shaikh* Abū-l-Fazl represented to the Emperor what he had heard of the case from the people, and stated that it was certainly proved that he had uttered abuse of the prophet. Some of the ‘*Ulamā* were of opinion that he should suffer death, while others were in favour of his being publicly paraded on the back of an ass and heavily fined. The ‘*Ulamā* were thus divided into two parties and the question was argued at length. The *Shaikh* required the

81 Emperor's sanction to the execution of the Brahman, but, notwithstanding his importunity, no open sanction was given, and the Emperor said in private, “Punishments for offences against the holy law are in the hands of you, the ‘*Ulamā*; what do you require of me?” The Brahman remained for some time in custody on the charge, and the ladies of the Imperial *haram* busied themselves in interceding for his release, but the *Shaikh's* known opinions stood in the way. At last, when the *Shaikh's* importunity exceeded all bounds, the Emperor said, “You have received your answer, it is that which I have already given you.” No sooner had the *Shaikh* reached his lodging than he issued orders for the execution of the Brahman. When this

May 12th of that year, *ibid.* 248. Although the slaying of the Brāhmaṇ is here mentioned as the chief cause of ‘Abdu-n-Nabī's fall, Akbar had for some time been displeased with him. *Vide* vol. ii, text, p. 208, where the incident of the discussion on the marriage-law of Islām is related. Akbar then accused the *Shaikh* of having at one time interpreted that law very liberally, and of having subsequently retracted this interpretation to his (Akbar's) detriment. It would appear that Akbar never forgot this.

"Your Majesty is the *Imām* and *Mujtahid* of the age. What need have you of these *'Ulamā'* for assistance in issuing your commands, whether religious or secular? They have no lot or part in true knowledge, beyond a groundless reputation therefor." The Emperor said, "Since you are my teacher and I am ready to learn from you why do you not free me from dependence on these *Mullahs*?" Shaikh Mubarak made a supreme effort to gain his end, and, all unconscious of rancour and contumacy, said, "Do you make a claim to religious supremacy and demand from them an attestation of your claim?" He ultimately wrote a decree affirming the religious supremacy of the Emperor and his superiority to all ecclesiastical dignitaries.¹ Shaikh 'Abdu-n-Nabi and Ma'khdūmu'l-Mulk were forcibly seized and compelled, as though they had been mere nobodies, to attend that assembly of base fellows. No one saluted them, and they took their seats in the *Sūf-i-nīl*,² and they were forced, much against their will, to attest that decree, whether they would or no,³ as has been mentioned in the detailed history of the Emperor's reign, and at last they both received permission to make the pilgrimage to Makkah.

Shaikh 'Abdu-n-Nabi died in the year II 991 (A.D. 1583).⁴

IX. شاھیہ آنماہی فاطمہ، اور آسیہتیہ⁵

He was among the first of the greatest sages of the time. He was devout, following a severe rule and striving much in the

¹ Vids vol. II, text, 270.

² "The row of shoes," i.e., at the place where the courtiers left their shoes when entering the emperor's presence.

³ The nature of the compulsion used is not mentioned. Badson, in vol. II, text, p. 270, says that some signed willingly and others unwillingly.

⁴ In vol. II, text, p. 312, the date of the Shaikh's death is given as 992 (A.D. 1584), and the chronogram there given (شیخ کبیری) gives the same date.

He returned to Fathpur from Makkah apparently in A.H. 990 (A.D. 1582).

⁵ On his using some harsh language the emperor struck him a heavy blow in the face with his fist. The Shaikh said, "Why dost thou not strike me with a knife?" 'Abdu-n-Nabi was then called to account for the sum of Rs. 70,000 which had been advanced for his journey to Makkah, and was thrown into prison, where he was strangled one night by a gang of men.

⁶ Vids p. 27, note 3.

path of holiness. In the feebleness of old age, when he had no longer the power to walk, and was completely bedridden, he learnt the glorious *Qur'ān* by heart. He had by heart the contents of most of the books generally read, and if one of his pupils made a mistake in reading he would correct him without referring to the text. He was well skilled in expounding the *Qur'ān*, in the traditional sayings and biography of Muhammad, and in history. He was a fellow-citizen and contemporary of Shaikh

84 Nizāmu'-d-dīn¹ of Ambāṭhī, and he used to say of him that he was strongly opposed to the recital by the congregation of the *fātiḥah* after the *imām* (during public prayers in the *masjid*).

The author had the honour of paying his respects to the Shaikh while he was employed in giving instruction in the *Sharh-i-Viqāya*. One of the Shaikh's pupils happened to be reading the following verses of Hazal:—

“Abū-Bakr, the son of the chosen one,
Resolved on a foray in connection with a strange matter,
And he said, ‘Verily I have resolved on a foray
Against Kaftārah, who is my father’s mother.’
And I said, ‘Wilt thou not hearken, O my son,
To the prohibition against associating with the base?’

and a discussion arose whether the reading should be كفتارة or كفارة² which latter is the feminine intensive form of the word كافر³, “an unbeliever.” He said that the true reading was كفارة and that no other reading would make sense, for that كفارة was a Persian word. My contention was that the meaning of كفارة was more obvious than that of كفتارة,—but God knows the truth!

¹ Vide p. 27.

² كفتارة means ‘an ungrateful woman’ or ‘an intensely unbelieving woman.’ كفتارة appears to be an Arabicized feminine form of the Persian word كفتار, ‘a hyaena,’ and, as applied to a woman, might be translated ‘ghoul’ or ‘vampire.’ The discussion between Badāoni and Shaikh Ahmadī is of no practical interest.

XII QIJI SABR-UD-DIN,¹ SON OF JAHANGIR, AFTERWARDS OF
LAHOR.

He was a profound sage, and was regarded as a leader in religious matters both by Sufis and by orthodox Muslims.² He was a cheerful and pleasant companion. Although he was for a time, as is well known, the pupil of Shaikh Alauddin Maqqdu-mu'l-Mulk, I certainly found him to be far superior to Maqqdu-mu'l-Mulk. So broad-minded was he in religious matters that he was commonly suspected of being a heretic. But the fact is that he was so credulous that he would implicitly trust any person, even a manifest heretic who was inclined to asceticism, and would stand before him with joined hands and regard any thing he might say as an authoritative utterance.

They say that a heretic who pretended to be mystically attracted to God one day came upon the Qiji and that the Qiji after his custom, stood before him with his hands joined in reverence. The heretic, deluded wretch said, 'Khizr³ is always with me.' The Qiji fell at his feet saying, 'Show him to me.' The heretic replied, 'I am at present in great anxiety over the marriage of my daughter, an affair which will cost me seven hundred tankas, when my anxiety is relieved I will effect a meeting between you and Khizr.' The Qiji at once gave him seven hundred tankas. Two days later the man came to him and said, 'Come that I may show you Khizr,' and took him away with him to the river. Now the heretic was a very tall man, while the Qiji was low of stature. The heretic walked into the river until the water reached his neck, and then stood still, and said to the Qiji, 'Come to me, for Khizr is here.' The Qiji replied, 'I cannot swim, how can I come to you?' The heretic replied, 'Well, I have shown you the place where Khizr is, if you cannot come to it it is no fault of mine.' Many other stories,

¹ Vide *Dir-i-Akbâr*, I, 545, where he is styled 'Qurashî' and 'Alî-i-Sâ'. The Tabaqat says that he was for some years qiji of Lahore.

² Literally, 'folk of the path,' i.e., those who follow the ceremonial ordinances, as opposed to the Sufis, who discard them.

³ Vide Hughes' *Dict. of Islam*, p. 272.

even more laughable than this, are told of the *Qāzī*, and to detail them would be to show the weakness of his intellect. His extreme simplicity can be estimated from the example cited.

When the Emperor bestowed¹ on the chief men of Lāhōr appointments in various parts of the Empire, and sent each one of them to fill some post in one city or another, Ṣadru'-d-dīn was appointed to be *Qāzī* of the seaport town of Bahrōc, in the province of Gujārāt, and was despatched thither in that capacity. There he died, leaving behind him a son possessed of ability, named Shaikh Muḥammad, who now holds in that city the appointment held by his late father.

XIII. MIYĀN ILĀHDĀD OF LAKHNAU.

He was one of those sages whose knowledge is always at command and ready for use. He possessed a naturally acute intellect and intuitive intelligence. In knowledge of practical theology and the first principles of that science, and of Arabic, he had no equal. He wrote a treatise on syntax which he named after one of the nobles, *Quṭbī* by name,² and which contained some evidence of its author's industry.

I went to Lakhnau at the time when Ḥusain Khān was gover-
86 nor of that place,³ and met the *Miyān*. Among his works there were two books which struck me as being wonderful. One was a treatise, written in columns, which covered a piece of paper capable of containing fourteen lines of ordinary writing, and as broad as it was long. In this treatise the leading principles and

¹ On the dispersal of the 'Ulamā.

² A passage occurs here which I am unable to translate. It runs as follows:—

بازلام ايزاد يصلح مثال در عین عبارت نه سابق و نه لا حق

Both MSS. substitute بصلح for بصلح, and MS. (A) substitutes for عبادت عبارت, but even with these variants the passage is obscure and the text appears to me to be corrupt.

³ *Vide* p. 6, note 4. Ḥusain Khān was appointed to Lakhnau in A.H. 974 (A.D. 1566-67) and was transferred thence to Kānt-u-Gūla in A.H. 975 (A.D. 1567-68).

problems of fourteen different branches of knowledge were succinctly set forth. The other consisted of four *Maqāmāhs* from a treatise in which the style of the *Maqāmatu'l Hariri*¹ was imitated, which treatise he entitled *Qīfūn*.² He told me that he had composed other works besides these. His cousins, however, said that the treatise on fourteen different branches of knowledge and the *Qīfūn* were written by *Hakim Zibrīqī*,³ who having come to Iāmīnī, employed himself in collating books, together with the well known *Qāzī Shihābu'd dīn*. These works they said, found their way, in the course of time, to the library of *Shaykh A'zam* of Lakhnau, who obtained the title of *Sāmi yā-Imām-i A'zam*,⁴ and thence came into the hands of *Miyān Shahdad* who was a descendant of *Shaykh A'zam* — and God knows the truth of the matter!

XIV MIR SAYYID JAHLL BIBI QADIRI,⁵ OF AGRA

He was one of the greatest of the *Sayyids* of Agra and was pre-eminent in his piety and resignation to the Divine will. From his youth to the end of his life he lived in seclusion avoiding the society of the wealthy⁶ and all pomps and ceremony and in his capacity as deputy of his holiness the *Ghānī*⁷ of the Everlasting God, the pole star (of religion) fixed by the Lord the inhabitant of that place which is beyond locality, *Shaykh Muhibbūn dādin*

¹ The assemblies of *Hariri* — one of the Arabian classics.

² A Turkish word, signifying 'a border' — an edging of silk, and hence in analogy of the Arabic word *āshāl*, a supplement or commentary. The aptness of the title will be understood if it be remembered that حرف (harif) in Arabic means silk.

³ MS (A) has زيرقی (Zirqī). I have not been able to find any mention of Zibrīqī elsewhere.

⁴ MS (B) has مصطفیٰ, above mentioned.

⁵ i.e. 'Second (only) to the greatest of the *Imāms* (Abu Hanifah).

⁶ The Qadiris are an order of *dārishehs*. Vide p. 12, note 4.

⁷ MS (A) has عارف (strangers') with بیگ ('the wealthy') as a correction in the margin.

⁸ عورث (*għas-sa*) means 'defender' or 'helper' and is a common title of Muhammadan saints.

'Abdu-'l-Qādir-i-Jilānī (may God be gratified with him and cause him to be gratified with us!), he received pupils up to the time when he bade farewell to this fleeting world. At this time his son, strong in the faith, Mīr Sayyid Dā'ūd, is the representative of his reverend father, and spends his life in holy poverty, indigence, and peregrination. As the auspicious splendour of his dread Majesty the Emperor and the pomp of the greatness of his glorious progeny shone with ever-increasing brilliancy over the horizon^{of} the imperial domain of Āgra, the effulgence of this
87 unfortunate family has abated in splendour, and the families of other deceased saints too have declined in like manner.

Couplet.

"Hundreds of thousands of children were beheaded
Before he who spake with God¹ saw the light."

XV. SHAIKH HUSAIN OF AJMER.

It is commonly reported that he was a descendant of that pole-star of holy men, and king of true lovers of God Khāja Mu'in-u'-d-din-i-Sanjāri-yi-Cishtī² (may God hallow his soul)! Since the Emperor, in the days when he first began especially to venerate his holiness the Khāja of Ajmer, happened to slight the claims of the Shaikh (to descent from him) some perverse fellows, prompted thereto by certain Shaikhs of Fathpūr, men who have endeavoured to the utmost to depose and discredit those of their own class (may God reward them therefor!), gave evidence against his claim to descent from the Khāja, saying that his holiness left no descendants, and the Sadrs and Qāzīs also issued decrees to that effect, being guided by their time-serving dispositions.

Hemistich.

"The age hath its raiment. Be thou clad therein!"

Thus the hereditary trusteeship of the shrine which had come

¹ i.e., Moses. The allusion is to the slaughter of the children of the Israelites by Pharaoh's order.

² The great saint of Ajmer. *Vide* vol. i, trans., Ranking, p. 70, and note 2

down to him through so many years was transferred to others. The Shaikh, who was a man of great estate, lived in that province like a king, and the Emperor's royal jealousy both on this account and on account of certain other events which happened could not endure the Shaikh's position, so he ordered him to leave India and to journey to Makkah, and the Shaikh accordingly took formal leave of his Majesty during the march to Banswala,¹ and, after successfully performing the pilgrimage to Makkah, returned. Having accomplished his journey to the Hijaz, he paid his respects at Court, on his return on the very day on which the Emperor had marched from Fathpur towards Kabul against Muhammad Hakim Mirza but he would not conform to the ceremonies which have in these days been established by those who have accepted a new faith and have been recently converted to Islam now followers of a new order of 88 things.

The Emperor after studying the page of the Shaikh's life and the lines of his forehead read there the signs of disaffection to himself, and commanded that the Shaikh should be imprisoned in the fortress of Bakkar.² There he spent some years and at last, in the year H 1002 (A D 1593 94), owing to the efforts made on his behalf by certain courtiers who had his Majesty's confidence he was summoned from Bakkar to the Imperial presence and in company with some other prisoners such as Shaikh Kamal-i-Biyaban; the impostor some mention of whom has already been made³ and the Qāzīs of Fathpur who had been imprisoned in Bakkar for fourteen years owing to the machinations of Shaikh Ibrahim-i-Ciughti⁴ and whose release had been ordered

¹ In A D 1577

² Bhakkar *Vide* vol II text p 300

³ *Vide* vol II text pp 300, 366

⁴ Shaikh Ibrahim was the son of Shaikh Muṣṭa and elder brother of Shaikh Salim-i-Ciughti of Fathpur Sikri to whose intercessions the birth of Sultan Salim (Jahangir) was attributed. In A H 986 (A D 1578 79) he was made governor of Fathpur Sikri, and it was apparently while he held that post that he had the *qa'is* of the town imprisoned. He died in A H 999 (A D 1590 91). *Vide* *In-ni-Akkari* I 402 and *Badsoni* vol II text, p 374 et passim.

by means of the intercession of Mīrzā Nīzāmīn-d-dīn Alīmād,¹ he arrived at Court, and there they all paid their respects to his Majesty, and all, with the exception of the Shaikh, prostrated themselves. He, an old man of seventy years of age, utterly unaccustomed to the ceremonial of kingly courts and the correct fashion of waiting upon royal personages, made a slight inclination and a mere bow, after the old custom. The Emperor's displeasure with him was renewed, and the *Mīrzā* was ordered to have a grant of three hundred *bīgas* of land in Bakkar made out to him, as *madad-i-ma'āsh*,² and to despatch the Shaikh thither once more. Begum Pādshāh, the mother of his Majesty, busied herself in the ladies' apartments of the palace in interceding for the Shaikh, and said to the Emperor, "My son, he has an aged and decrepit mother in Ajmer, whose heart yearns to see her son again. How would it be if you were to give him leave to depart to Ajmer? He desires no *madad-i-ma'āsh* from you." The Emperor would not accede to her request, and said, "Mother, he will start business afresh in the place to which he is now going, and people will present to him alms, presents, and complimentary gifts in plenty. He leads a number of men astray. In fine, let him summon his mother hither." This treatment of his mother was much bitterer to the Shaikh than was the mere going to Bakkar.

On the night on which the *Sadr-i-Jahān* summoned the compiler of these historical selections to the Imperial presence in connection with the Shaikh's resignation of his trusteeship of the 89 shrine in Ajmer, as has already been mentioned, the Emperor was perturbed in respect of that case, which he had himself brought forward, and refused to ratify the decree (with regard to the resignation), and retained the Shaikh in his service. He said to the *Sadr-i-Jahān*, "Where is that simple-hearted old man?" (meaning Shaikh Ḫusain). I reminded him that he was in Lāhōr, and urged the *Sadr-i-Jahān*, since I myself was unworthy to hold such a blessed position, to have him appointed as the

¹ Author of the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*.

² A grant in aid of livelihood.

trustee of the shrine in that protected¹ city, and so restore to him his just due. But since it is not in the nature of natives of India to work in the interests of their own brethren, or to trust me mother, the efforts of the *Sadr-i-Jahan* availed neither in my case unfortunate wretch that I am nor in the case of *Shahh Husain*. That aged man, whose sins have surely been forgiven by God, now lives in affliction and distress in perturbation of spirit and in perplexity, seated in the neck of obscurity unable to knock the doors of the great ones of this world, or to obtain their influence and interest on his behalf while at the same time the road of representation is closed to him, and all hopes² of the intercession of others in his behalf are ruined.

But to continue the *Shahk*'s existence is a blessing and a boon to be highly prized by his contemporaries. I was not personally acquainted with him till recently but now that he has returned from his pilgrimage to the Hijaz and has suffered bonds, he appears to me to be a quantity of (heavenly) light and a angel in bodily form. Never have I known him to speak of worldly matters either in public or in private. He is ever employed inusterities in worship and in striving in the way of holiness fasting continually and always watching at night. It is my hope that God (may He be praised and glorified!) will open to him the door of his desire in accordance with the text

Verily a difficulty shall be attended with ease nay verily a difficulty shall be attended with ease. It is my hope too that God will speedily recompense him for his afflictions with the blessing described in the couplet —

Couplet

When hardships press upon thee think on the chapter Have we not opened³?

And the word difficulty lies between two repetitions of the word ease³.

When thou thinkest on this rejoice

¹ بُشَّار (بُشَّار) protected that is to say from evil by the presence of Ma'mud din Qasim's shrine

² Literally the house of intercession is ruined

³ The ninety fourth chapter of the *Qur'an* from which the text is quoted

I pray, too, that I, bondsman of this world as I am, may by
 90 the blessing of that leader of all the pious, attain salvation, that,
 being delivered from my purposeless pursuits, my wild talk,
 levity, folly, and futile scribbling, I may reach my "true native
 land" and abiding city, to meet there my departed wife, children,
 and relatives, and, above all my son, and that I may be enabled
 to employ what remains to me of life in some occupation that
 shall serve me hereafter.

Couplet.

My purpose is, if it be possible,
 So to employ myself as to dissipate my grief.

And since these lines were written just as the scroll of felicity
 was unfolding itself, and the blessed breeze of morn was begin-
 ning to blow, and the true dawn was just breaking, what wonder
 if the arrow of my disinterested prayer strikes the target of
 acceptance through the bounty of the Lord, on whose boundless
 mercy I have always trained myself to believe, and by whose free
 grace I have been nourished ?

Couplet.

91 " He may well unfold the desire of my fortune, for which
 last night
 " I prayed, and the true dawn broke." ¹

These complainings are out of place here, but what can I do ?
 My soul and heart are so oppressed with weakness and un-
 easiness that these few bitter lamentations have escaped from
 the pipe of my tongueless pen. Please God I shall be excused
 and forgiven.

¹ This couplet is from an ode of Hāfiẓ, No. 236 in Colonel Jarrett's edition of Hāfiẓ. For صبح مصدق in the second hemistich Colonel Jarrett's edition reads صبح آئین, without any variant. A fine MS. of Hāfiẓ in my possession reads صبح مصدق. The same MS. reads گویا, or rather, as it is written, گوییا, for غالبا in the first hemistich. This reading does not commend itself to me. The Cawnpore edition of Hāfiẓ (1902) reads آئین گمین for مصدق آئین.

Couplet

I am not one to weep from grief of heart
But this load of grief heavily oppresses my heart¹

VII Shāikh 'Abd-²l Qādir

He was an inhabitant of Lech, and was the delight of the heart and the apple of the eye of his holiness Shāikh Hamid: Qadir may God make his soul fragrant.

At the time when that holy man (may God the most High have mercy upon him!) was in Agra in the days when Buram Khan the Khankhauda was in power I was a student but I had not the good fortune of meeting on him. When Buram Khan owing to the machinations of malevolent and perverse persons the chief of whom was Shulh Gada³ became puffed up with pride on account of his transient high position he began to regard the holy Shāikh with disfavour and summoned him from Lech. The Shāikh was much displeased and declared that the order augured ill for his persecutor and there happened to Buram Khan what did happen? But Shāikh Muhammad Ghias used to attribute the subsequent confusion in the affairs of Buram Khan to his own journey to Court (in obedience to a summons).

When the holy Shāikh Hamid returned to Multan his soul now resting on high conveyed itself in the sacred shrine to the neighbourhood of the attendants of the sublime court of heaven and his pure body was committed to the ground in the village of Hamidpur a dependency of Multan.

There had been for many years a dispute between Shāikh Abdu'l Qadir and his younger brother Shāikh Musa regarding the title to the Shāikh dom and Shāikh Musa consequently

¹ Vide *In a Akbari* : 544

² Vide supra No V

³ See his removal from his position by Akbar Vide vol II text, p 38 As a matter of fact many things contributed to Buram's fall He was unfortunate in having the whole interest of the family of Akbar's foster mother arrayed against him

spent most of his time at Court. One night when the Shaikh 'Abdu-'l-Qādir was at Fathpūr oil of poppies was offered to him, and he declared the use of it to be unlawful. The Emperor was displeased with him on account of what he said on this occasion, and one day in the hall of audience at Fathpūr, after the congregational prayers had been recited, the Shaikh busied himself with his supererogatory devotions. The Emperor said, " Shaikh, perform your supererogatory devotions in your own house." The 92 Shaikh replied, " Sire, in this kingdom your commands have no force." The Emperor was much displeased and said, " What an ignorant fellow is this Shaikh." He then said, " Since you do not desire what my power can give you, remain no longer in my kingdom." The Shaikh immediately left the assembly, resigned his *madad-i-ma'āsh*, and ceased to prosecute his case against his younger brother. He retired to Ucch, the burial place of his revered predecessors, and, in Shaikh Mūsā's absence, removed the bones of the holy Shaikhī Hāmid to Ucch, and followed the sublime and laudable rule of his predecessors. He now walks, with the footsteps of resignation, in the way of holy poverty, and receives so much in the way of alms that he has no need of any *madad-i-ma'āsh*. Now Shaikh Mūsā, after all the years which he has spent in piety, devotion, holy endeavour, and saintliness, has become a secular follower of the Emperor, has adopted the profession of arms, and, having resigned his former service, has now become a commander of five hundred horse. This is similar to the story of a man who became a Musalmān, to whom one said, " You have done well, there were too few Musalmāns without you!"¹

So long as Shaikh Mūsā was with the Emperor he would, at the stated times for prayer, whether he were in the public or the private hall of audience, himself utter the call to prayer, and would then lead the congregational prayers in the presence of the Khalīfah of the age, and none could gainsay him.

¹ Badāoni apparently means to be sarcastic, insinuating that there were plenty of *ci-devant* holy men who had relinquished the service of God for the service of Akbar. With reference to what follows, however, he may mean that the imperial service was benefited by the accession of at least one true Muslim.

When news was brought to Shankh Abilu'l Qadir of his brother's new rank at Court, he said 'He well deserves the command of a thousand horse. Why did he not enter the imperial service before, and receive a *jigir* in Multan instead of uselessly quarrelling for so long ?'

Shankh 'Abdu'l Qadir, well content with the honour and high place which he has gained through holy poverty follows the rule of his noble ancestors and acting as their successor, employs himself in guiding and teaching the people, and spends his precious time in worship in the practice of severeusterities and in holy endeavour so that his leadership in the religious world is established¹

Couplet

We will not deprive ourselves of the honour of holy poverty 93
and contentment

Tell the king that our duty here has been appointed for us
by God

XVII Shankh Kabir

He was the spiritual successor of his holiness Shankh Baha'u'd din Zakariya² ('may God sanctify his soul') The people of Multan give him the title of *Vali* (saint) and so great was their faith in him that he could if he chose assemble a thousand horsemen in one day He employed his time so busily that he took his meals at variable times, as it were and owing to the redness of his eyes, caused really by his night watches the common people believed him to be a drunkard

'So much is my own blood my drink that all night long I am beside myself,

And for this reason men charge me with winebibbing

Nevertheless, Shankh Musa'l Qadri, who has been mentioned above, always attributed the redness of Shankh Kabir's eyes to actual drunkenness, and he would continually say, I fear that

¹ Literally has been stamped as current coin

² Vide vol 1 trans Ranking, 133 and note 2 and *In't Albari* in 362 and note 3 Badaoni does not of course mean that Kabir was the immediate successor of this saint, who died in A.D. 1267-68 In the *Tabaqat* Kabir is said to have been an actual descendant of Baha'u'd din Zakariya

the saints of old, too, whose morals we read of in books, were like Shaikh Kabīr, who is well known as a "Saint," and that the old poets, also, were like Shaikh Faizī and the rest of them." God forbid !

I saw Shaikh Kabīr once at Fathpūr, when I was with Ḥusain Khān, and observed his dignity of appearance, and I firmly believe that inwardly he was a knower of hidden secrets.

'(A fragment¹ from Sa'dī.)

" Whomsoever thou seest clad in the garments of holiness,

" Believe him to be holy, and a pious man,

" If thou knowest not his actual state.

" What business has the police officer within the house ? "

His death took place in the year H. 995 (A.D. 1587) and he is buried in the burial place of his venerable forefathers (may blessing and peace be upon them !).

94 XVIII. MĪR SAYYID 'ALĪ OF LŪDHIANA.

He is one of the faithful men of this age, and is among the greatest of the spiritual representatives of Shaikh 'Abdu'-r-Razzāq of Jhanjhāna, a noted Shaikh, who was widely venerated by ecstatic mystics, and followed by those who had acquired learning and perfection.

The *Mīr* passed his eightieth year, and advanced well into his ninth decade, and throughout his precious life he never set foot outside his house once he had received authoritative permission to give religious instruction. He was resorted to by the great, and by all, both rich and poor. Many miracles are related of him, and whosoever was honoured by the *Mīr*'s companionship, and in all sincerity enrolled himself among his disciples, obtained grace to avoid all forbidden things and wanton pastimes, to ally himself to the Fount of all grace, and to attain his true object. Among such was Muḥammad Ja'far, the relative of Mīrzā Nizāmu'-d-dīn Ahmad, an orthodox youth, but polluted with debauchery. When he travelled from Lāhōr to take up the

¹ ~~asbū~~. The text does not give the source of the quotation. I have inserted it from MS. (A). The verses are well known.

*faujdar*¹ of the *pargana* of Shamsabad,² which was in the Mir-i-jagir and reached Ludhiana, he enrolled himself among Mir Sayyid 'Ali's disciples and, by God's grace, repented of his sins and, leaving aside all³ things that should be shunned⁴ and everything that is forbidden, frequently begged the Mir to offer up a prayer⁵ that he might attain to the dignity of martyrdom. The Mir offered up prayers in accordance with his request, and in the course of three or four months Muhammad Ja'far became so well known for his piety, abstemious asceticism, and devotion, that he became an object of envy⁶ to many of the priests and he, who used with much pride and pomp and with many attendants, to recite his night prayers now drew water for his ceremonial ablutions without the help of any servant and aroused nobody.

In a short time the Mir's prayer was answered and in a village⁷ in the *pargana* of Shamsabad Muhammad Ja'far attained to the dignity of martyrdom⁸ fighting manfully against the wretched infidels.

In that same year I waited on Mu Sayyid Ali, on the occasion on which I in company with Mulla Nizamu'd din Ahmad obtained leave to visit my beloved home. The conversation turned on the martyrdom of Ja'far, and Mu Sayyid Ali said

It is admissible for martyrs to satisfy their love of pleasure in

¹ The faujdar was the chief military and police officer of a parganah, i.e. hundred.

² Headquarters of a parganah in the tehsil of Qannauj in the sub-tehsil of Aligarh, i.e. in Aligarh, in 1856. Now a town in the Qaimqangah taluk of the Farrukhabad District in the U P state Imp Gazetteer (new series) xxii 229.

³ مجمع omitted from the text though both MSS have it

⁴ محدود را MS (A) has محدود which is not so good a reading

⁵ جملہ the opening chapter of the *Quran* which is recited as a prayer with intention

⁶ ابھی Badaoni always used the word in this wrong sense see supra p 30 note 2, also vol 1 trans Rakhang, 395 and 543 note 4

⁷ In A.H. 999 (A.D. 1590-91) vide vol 11 text p 376 Muhammad Ja'far was the son of Nizamu'd din's maternal aunt

this world as well (as in the next), as is certain from the following text which occurs in the glorious word of God :—‘ Nay, rather, alive with their Lord they are provided for, rejoicing.’”¹ He then said, in this connection, “ There was a newly married youth who met his death by martyrdom in this neighbourhood, and after his death he used to return always on Friday nights, in appearance the same as when he was alive, and pass the night with his wife in conjugal intercourse.” I said, “ They say too that deceased martyrs are capable of begetting children in these circumstances, and it is well known that this is a fact. In the *pargana* town of Basāwar, which was my birthplace, an Afghān named Ishāq suffered martyrdom but used to consort with his newly-married wife after his death, visiting her every Friday night. He ordered her to keep the matter secret, but shortly afterwards, when the woman became pregnant, she was accused of misconducting herself. On being much pressed she revealed the whole matter to her mother-in-law, Ishāq’s mother, and one Friday night showed her the form of her son. The mother cried out, calling her son by name, and tried to embrace him. The shape vanished, and from that day forth Ishāq appeared no more. His mother dug a well and named it after him, and the well exists to this day. How can these things be ? ” Mir Sayyid ‘Ali answered, “ They are possible, and they are not contrary to reason.” Mirzā Nizāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad said, “ It may be that a *jinn* appeared in the outward form of the Martyr.” The *Mīr* said, “ A *jinn* has not the power to appear in the semblance of the bodies of prophets, saints, pious men, and martyrs.”

The death of the *Mīr* occurred in the year H. 1002 (A.D. 1593-94), or H. 1003 (A.D. 1594-95). One of the learned men 96 of the time found that the words, “ The religious leader of mankind,”² gave the date of his death. The *Mīr*’s worthy son, Mir Sayyid Maḥmūd, has succeeded him.

¹ بِلْ احْيَاءٍ عِنْدَ رِبِّهِمْ يُرْزَقُونَ فَرِحِينٌ *Qur’ān* iii, part of verses 163, 164.

² شیخ انام. This chronogram gives the date A.D. 1002 (A.D. 1593-94).

XIX. Syūnī Mu'm

He was the grandson of Maulānā Mu'm the preacher, a well-known man, the author of the *Mā'āṣ-n-nubārah*¹. Shaikh Mu'm (of whom I am writing) was an angel in human form. He was employed for some time, under the *farmān* of the *Khalifah* of the age, as *Qāzī* of Lāhōr. They say that he never decided a case, and that if a plaintiff pressed for the decision of his suit he would with much insistence and lamentation and with protestations of his own incompetence, say, "For God's sake compromise the matter between you, so that I may avoid responsibility and have no cause for repentance or shame." He would also say, "You both know all about the case, it is my misfortune that I, who know nothing of it, am left alone to decide between two who knew all about it. Do not, then, give me cause to be ashamed before the Court of God, the Most High!" If a woman prayed for a separation from her husband on the ground of his absence from her he would provide her with means of livelihood to the extent of his ability, and would say, "Take this much for your subsistence and await your husband's return do not separate from him."

He devoted his subsistence allowance, over which he had exclusive rights, to the pay of scribes, whom he used to employ to copy valuable books, and he used to collate the copies and have them bound, and would then present them to students. This was his principal occupation and employment throughout his life, and he must have distributed thousands of such volumes to the people.

In the year H 995 (A.D. 1587) he took his departure from this world, the sojourning place of toil, for the garden of eternity, leaving two sons, one of whom is famous in all riots and combats for his skill in wrestling, while the other is a noted pigeon-flier. On account of these accomplishments their names were mentioned to the Emperor, and he was a spectator of their performances. 97

¹ The text has *Mā'rāj*, but both MSS. have *Mā'āṣ*, which reading I have adopted. The title of the book, which I have not found mentioned elsewhere means "Steps to prophet-hood."

99 “The glory of the race of Yas”¹ for the date of his death.

Mir ‘Abdu-‘l-Laṭīf’s fortunate, noble, and orthodox son Mirzā Ghiyāṣu-^d-din ‘Alī-yi-Ākhund, entitled Naqīb Khān,² who is endowed with angelic qualities and adorned with the graces and perfection of learning, has no equal either in Arabia or in Persia in his knowledge of works on travel, of history, and of chronicles, as has been said before. The author is more intimate with him than with any of the courtiers, and was his schoolfellow from childhood. He is now strenuously employed, night and day, in the imperial service, and for a whole generation past has been engaged in reading works on history, books of story, and anecdotes, and legends, both in Persian and in Hindi, which latter works have in these days been translated. One may say indeed that he has become a part of the life of the Khalifah of the age, who never dreams of losing his companionship for a moment. Of late he has been suffering from slight fever,³ but it is hoped that he will be blessed with a rapid recovery and complete restoration to health. Since the good are everywhere acceptable may they live long! As for the evil ones of the age, what need is there to utter prayers for them? The evil that they do brings its own reward and evil befalls the tongue which pollutes itself by the mention of these nameless scoundrels.

XXI. KHĀJA MUHAMMAD YAHYĀ.

He was a descendant in the fourth generation of the holy Khāja Aḥrār³ (may God sanctify his soul!). He was well acquainted with the seven styles of penmanship, and was a professor of that art. He had great practice and wonderful skill in medicine and therapeutics. His excellent qualities and dis-

¹ The chronogram gives the date 981.

² *Vide Āin-i-Akbarī*, i, 441. Akhund means ‘theologian,’ ‘preacher,’ or ‘tutor.’ Naqīb Khān was made a commander of fifteen hundred at the beginning of Jahāngīr’s reign, and died in A.D. 1614. He was buried at Ajmer, beside his wife, in the enclosure of Ma’īnu-d-dīn Cishtī’s tomb.

³ The renowned saint Khāja Nāṣīru-d-dīn ‘Ubaidu-llāh Aḥrār. *Vide Āin-i-Akbarī*, i, 322.

position were an inheritance which he had received from his forbears, and although he was little given to discourse he exercised hospitality, and whatever he received from his *zir* was 100 spent in furnishing the table of friendship. How is the bene factor both of high and low. When the new heresy was introduced and the influence of the vilest of men waxed great he withdrew from this society and obtained leave to perform the pilgrimage to the *Hijaz*. He was made 'leader of the pilgrimage' and was sent on his way to the holy places with ample store for the journey. When he had attained the felicity of completing the pilgrimage he returned and passed his precious time in Agra in devotion and the service of the Most High God, which alone is the object for which man was created until the importunate messenger of doom seized the garment of his holy life, and invited him to the abode of nearness to God and the threshold of His greatness, so that having obtained his release from this robe of distinction and darkness he entered into close fellowship with the faithful, the martyrs, and the pious.

Couplet

They call to thee from the highest heaven
I know not what more thou hast to do with this world
of snare

XXII. Shaikh Husain or Bapujiya

He was one of the spiritual successors of the lord Shaikh Husain of Khurram (may God sanctify his soul!). Religious ecstasy, overpowering him, used to reduce him to a state like inebriety. Daily, after early morning prayers, the *Misbāh*, written by Shaikh Rashid (may God sanctify his soul!), used to be read in his venerable assembly, after the rule of the *Kibratī* order, and he would then fall into a religious ecstasy, and in like manner he was assiduous in reading the *Masnāt* of the *Hawalli* *zi-Ma'navi*¹. His feet were firm in the path of the most pure law, and his speech sprang ever from spiritual knowledge, and

¹ Maulan-i-Jalaluddin-i-Rumi

affected the hearts of his hearers. If at times one would praise him he would say, "It is yourself that you are regarding."

He stayed some time in Badāon for the purpose of seeing some ¹⁰¹ Turks who had attached themselves to him as their spiritual leader, and made that place resplendent with the light of his presence, and the bounty of his blessed companionship reached the inhabitants of that district. Returning thence he came to Āgra, and thence hastened to the court of the great God.

XXIII. SHAIKH 'ABDU-'L-QĀDIR.

He is one of the descendants of Shaikh 'Abdu-'l-Qādir the second, of Ucch, who was entitled his holiness Ghaus-i-Rabbānī (may God be graciously pleased with them!). Shaikh 'Abdu-'l-Qādir and his younger brother, Shaikh Ilāh Bakhsh, were both educated in piety, devotion, and temperance, and were distinguished for their mental perfections. They lived for some time in Fathpūr, and the emperor, at the time when religious controversy waxed warm, extended his patronage to Shaikh Ilāh Bakhsh, and appointed him to Gujarāt with the title of *Sadr*, and sent him to Shāhbāz Khān.¹ This was, in fact, banishment. The Shaikh, however, rendered good service to the state, and constantly² sent express messengers with representations containing full news³ of the rebels, and other matters, so that a commission was issued, granting him the rank of commander of three hundred. But just then the messenger of death delivered in his ear the joyful message, "Return thou to thy Lord," and he responded cheerfully to the messenger of God. His elder brother, Shaikh 'Abdu-'l-Qādir, was then banished to the glorious city of Makkah, and at the time when the Khānkhānān, son of Bairām Khān,⁴ and Mīrzā Nizāmu-'d-dīn Ahmad had the control

¹ Shāhbāz Khān Kambū; vide *Aīn-i-Akbarī* i, 399. Shaikh Ilāh Bakhsh was apparently sent to Gujarāt in 1578-79, at which time Shāhbāz Khān was in Western Rājputāna.

² بیانی as in both MSS. The text has پیانی.

³ اخبار as in both MSS. The text has اخبار.

⁴ Mīrzā 'Abdu-r-Rahīm: vide *Aīn-i-Akbarī* i, 334. It was probably in 1583 that Shaikh 'Abdul-'l-Qādir was sent to Makkah.

of affairs in Gujerat, he went thither, and having obtained from them provisions for his journey and attached himself to a company of pilgrims he obtained the glory of performing the pilgrimage of the *Hajj*. Thence he returned to his own native place, Lâhor, where he now lives,¹ engaged in the service of God and in devotion, and remaining steadfast in the same.

XXIV SHAIKH ABO'-L-MALIK

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He is the nephew, the son-in-law and the spiritual successor of his holiness the true spiritual guide, the shade of saintship, him who is seated in the chair of unity, lord of the sword of might and the troop of power of the Eternal One, the manifestation of the perfections of Muhammed, Miyân Shâikh Dâ'ud² (may God sanctify his soul!) He is, in the swift pursuit of righteousness, the phoenix of the ages, a pattern in all states and assemblies of holy poverty and self effacement. If mention be made of those favoured by God it is his name which is most appropriately mentioned, and if the talk be of those who excel their fellows it is his name which is first spoken. He is a man of lofty soul who has completely effaced himself in the love which he bears to his spiritual guide, a man of noble mind who knows no other occupation than the adoration of his saintly preceptor. He has himself written verses to that purport —

Couplets

"I am ever inebriated with the cup of love,
What should I know of 'this' and 'that'—
I who worship Dâ'ud!"

"How can this frozen heart be warmed by the speech
of all?
Nay, it requires the breath of Dâ'ud, which can soften
even iron."

¹ In A.H. 1004 (A.D. 1595-96).

² *Vide p. 47.*

A fragment

Ghurbati¹ speaks in his religious ecstasy,
 An ecstasy which is indeed altercation without speech.
 It were impossible to describe the condition of his love,
 Yet to refrain from doing so is another impossibility

Ghurbati¹ Make thy life a sacrifice to Him,
 For the felicity of union with Him is not bestowed
 as a worthless gift

Keep the mention of love in thine heart, and open not
 thy lips
 Keep the mouth of this flask well closed, lest (cold)
 air should enter it

Ghurbati¹ Raise the cry of 'I am God'² and fear
 not the stake,
 For rope and stake are the means of ascent in this path

That which we have seen and known of that Soul of
 Souls
 (We learnt) not to repeat, but to see and to know

The following copy of a letter is one of his wonderful epistles
 which he sent to me in Labor —

Verse

I increased my desire and my heart is in grief
 And within my bowels a fire is kindled
 When will the absent return from their long journey³

* * * *

¹ The *takkallus* or poetical name of Abu'l Maali

² The reference is to Mansur, vide p. 37 note 7

³ These verses should be completed by a fourth hemistich, which is wanting in the text and the MSS.

"My dear one,—At this time of dejection in my separation from every friend and stranger I had come to regard the news even of those who¹ asked after the well-being of all as a letter-carrier and messenger, and used to hope for greetings and a message, when suddenly your affectionate letter took the place of a prescription for the restoration to health of those cast down with melancholy at separation from their friends, and redoubled my desire to see you, and my affection. Now the verses of that holy man of the *Qādirī* order, the seething of whose waves of eloquence astonishes and bewilders the soul, expel the anguish of my heart, and I beg that you will excuse me (for quoting them) :—

Ho, ye (who hearken)! I wonder at all men.
 And in my drunkenness I see neither that which is
 before me nor that which is behind.
 And there is nothing, I swear by God, in my bowels but
 desire for you,
 My heart seeth you, as though I saw from your
 eyes.
 From my grave whisper in the ears of my absent friends
 That they are the objects of my regard both in life and
 death.
 When Munkir and Nakir shall come to me
 I shall answer to Nakir at the time of his coming,
 and to Munkir.
 And will say 'Question not me, but another' concerning
 them, for I am verily their friend,
 And the bond of my love for them has suffered no
 change.
 We all convey salutations to all of you.
 Written by the humble Abū'l-Ma'fālī."

And in another letter he wrote the following couplet :—

"As for that dear one who nightly moveth near me,
 Blest will be the day when he appears clearly before
 me."

¹ Both MSS. invert ('and') here.

"Salutations bleeded with the desire of seeing you and flattered like the banners of the *Dā'udiyah* branch of the *Qulayyih* order are sent to you. Know that your friend has important business with Maulana 'Abdu'l Ghafur and Shāhīl 'Umū, which can be settled by a moment's attention from you. If you can spare any of your precious time to bring it about it will in truth, be most fruitful in benefits. My blessing

XXV. MAULANA FĀRIZ OF LAHŌR

This is a famous quarter of Lahōr. The Maulana is a relative of Haji Mahdi who was one of the most famous *Shāhīls*. He is now one of the most learned men of the time and has been appointed as a teacher at Lahōr. He is a pupil of Mulla Ismā'il of Uzch and has also received instruction from other teachers. He is a most expert lapidary possesses great renown and has much store of learning in all branches of knowledge both those which call for the exercise of the reasoning faculty and those which depend on the memory. They say that he has been engaged in teaching since he was eight years old. He has a good delivery and speaks unambiguously so that he is able readily to convey to the understanding of his pupils the sense of arguments on knotty points of speculative and traditional sciences. He is kind hearted, pious and religious, and has the *Qur'a'n* by heart. He is endowed with noble qualities. The correction and arrangement of the Quranic exegesis¹ of Shāhīl Fāri is principally his work. His age is between fifty and sixty.

Couplet

Whit of argument regarding knowledge² I thought it travel as
far as Farghā³

The mention of the name of Maulana Jamali'd din Muham
mad will accompany it

XXVI. MAULANA 'ABDŪ'L GHAFUR OF LĀHŌR.

He is a most eminent and distinguished sage, and well known

¹ The *مُوَلِّعَاتِ الرُّؤْيَا* ("rays of inspiration")

² One of two bright stars near the North Pole

for the vigour of his understanding and his natural acumen. His belief in the Shaikhs is unshaken, and the firmness of his confidence in these men is wonderfnl. Most of his precious time is expended in perusing the works of this class of men, and he employs his life in the recitation of snpererogatory prayers and petitions and in the perusal of the *Qur'ān*, and whatever comes to his board is at the disposal of the poor and needy. At the time when the controversy with the 'Ulamā and the Shaikhs took place he was banished,¹ and having been appointed to be Qāzī of Jannpūr he was sent thither. When he joined the imperial Court at the time when it was at Ilāhābad² the *Qāzī*-ship of Jaunpūr was bestowed on the Ottoman *Qāzī-zāda*, an accomplished man of pleasant disposition and adorned with many mental perfections. Since that time Maulānā 'Abdu-'sh-Shakūr has remained there in retirement, engaged in teaching and imparting knowledge, contenting himself with what is sufficient for subsistence, averse from covetousness, far removed from worldly perils and fears, and near to the salvation of faith.

XXVII. SHAIKH KABIR, SON OF SHAIKH MUNAWWAR.³

He is the successor of his respected father. He is a young man who in childhood attained to perfection and excelled holy men. If in these latter days there be a son who is better than was his father it may be said that it is he who has attained this condition. He prosecuted his studies in most of those branches of knowledge which are included in the ordinary curriculum under his father, and his respected father-in-law, Miyān Sa'du'llāh Bani Isrā'il, and subsequently made the society and companionship of his fellows the rule of his life, and became a

¹ In A.D. 1579. *Vide* vol. ii, text, p. 277, where 'Abdn-sh-Shakūr is called *Gauldār*, i.e., wearer of a *darvīsh*'s robe.

² In A.D. 1583. *Vide* vol. ii, text, p. 334.

³ Shaikh Munawwar was born at Lāhor and was noted for his memory and learning. When the 'Ulamā of Lāhor were banished in 1579 he was made *Sadr* of Mālwa. He was afterwards imprisoned in Gwāliyār, where he died in A.D. 1602-03. Shaikh Kabir himself died at Ahmadābād in Gujārat in A.D. 1617.

courtier May the most Holy God (be He exalted¹) grant him repentance for his indulgence in opium, his pride, and his lying and boasting. At the time when, in accordance with the imperial order, he accompanied his father to the *pargana* of Bajwāra² and the spurs of the northern mountains, and was employed in the administration of that district, he wrote a letter to me from which the degree of perfection to which he, as a man, had attained may be inferred. That letter was as follows —

Poetry

I had a heart by means of which I enjoyed life but my heart perished from me owing to the change which it suffered

" May the attendants of that possessor of a sublime disposition, that resort of excellence, be in good health Oh, my lord! The concerns of my heart and soul, that is to say the only true concerns of a man, are firmly established on the threshold of sincere affection, but my earthly body (may the dust of the world be on its head³) consorts with the birds and beasts of the wilderness of superfluity,⁴ nay, by God! it consorts with a multitude from the sight of which the very birds and beasts could not choose but flee. Glory be to God! I know not where I may find a remedy. My vile spirit now knows what a blessing health is. From the time when I first came to years of discretion to this day, when I have reached my fortieth year, all my endeavours have been directed towards the companionship of the most spiritually minded men, wherein I might seek a remedy for my spiritual imperfections and the diseases of my soul, and now zeal for the Supreme and jealous God (may His majesty be exalted!) having affected me has brought on me a sore affliction, which

¹ There were two *parganas* of this name. One was in the Agra *sarkar* of the *Suba* of Agra (*Ain*, II, 182) and the other was in the Bith Jalandhar *Duāb sarkar* of the *Suba* of Lahore (*Ain*, II, 316). The latter is the town mentioned here. It is now a town in the District and *tahsil* of Hoshiarpur in the Panjab. Vide 'Imperial Gazetteer of India' (new series), VI, 220.

² کنڑت The writer perhaps means the wilderness of the vulgar crowd.

none but He can cure. Cheerfulness,¹ contentment, and the quiet enjoyment of health have all been snatched from me. You, O Maulavī, will surely have experienced the magnanimous and affectionate solicitude of the Nawwāb Fayyāzī,² that most learned and most wise man, unique in this age (may God enrich us from his perfection, and may He bestow on us the profitable honour of 108 his discourse !), and you must have recognized it as one of the greatest of the Lord's benefits, and have returned thanks for this great gift. At the time when prayers are answered³ put up a petition for the needs of your slave. Salutations to you. May the attendants of the sympathetic Miyān Ahmad, the marvel of the age, be in good health, and believe me to be desirous of reunion.”

XXVIII. SHAIKH SA'DU-L-LĀH, THE GRAMMARIAN.⁴

Biyāna⁵ is one of the districts in the eastern portion of India. The Shaikh from his childhood was in the service of Shaikh Muḥammad Ghauṣ,⁶ and passed his time with him in fasts of forty days⁶ and in exorcism, and subsequently himself continued these practices. He built a hospice in the district of Biyāna and was for many years resorted to by students and followers of the religious life. He employed himself in the instruction and spiritual guidance of such men. In knowledge of syntax he had no equal in his time. For seventy years he never broke his fast save on

¹ مُفَاعِي وَقْتٍ in both MSS. The text has شَفَاعَى وَقْتٍ ‘remedy for my days.’ I have followed the MSS.

² The poet Shaikh Abū-l-Faiz Faizi, Fayyāzī, elder brother of Shaikh Abū-l-Faṣl. *Vide infra* chap. iv, No. cvii.

³ *Vide Āīn-i-Akkari*, i, 545, where he is called ‘Maulānā Sa'du-l-lāh.’

⁴ Then a *pargana* town in the *sarkār* and *sūba* of Āgra (*Āīn-i-Akkari*, ii, 182), now the headquarters of a *taluk* in the Bharatpur State in Eastern Rajputana (*Imperial Gazetteer of India* (new series), vii, 637, s.v. Bayāna). In the *Āīn* (ii, 180) Biyāna, which is a very ancient city, is mentioned as having been formerly the capital of a province of which Āgra was a dependent village.

⁵ *Vide* p. 6.

⁶ بَازْ تَعْبِدَاتٍ MS. (A) has بَازْ تَعْبِدَاتٍ by transposition of dots. The reading of the text and MS. (B) is correct.

milk, green vegetables,¹ and wild fruits. His liberality was profuse and open handed. In the reign of Sulim Shah² I went, in company with my maternal grandfather, to pay my respects to the Shaykh and took some lessons in the *Kasifiyah*³ from him. At first the Shaykh, withdrawing himself from all worldly concerns was overcome by stupor. He secluded himself alone in a room and would not admit even his sons to his presence, until in the year H 989 (A D 1581) he departed from this world. He is buried in the hospice which he built. On the day of his death a sparrow fell down from the minou to the head of the corpse and this was a matter of wonder to all who beheld it.

XXIX Shaykh Nizam-o-Din

He was a native of Hindaur⁴ and had the reputation of being skilled in alchemy. It is said that the Shaykh was constantly in attendance on the emperor Humayun who has obtained forgiveness of his sins both in court and in camp and that when the emperor arrived at Agra after being defeated at Jauhar⁵ the 109 Shaykh said, "Something will be required for the maintenance of a fresh army" and accordingly collected all the copper pots, dishes, and other vessels which could be found and, in the late emperor's presence, converted them into pure gold. This matter was noised abroad, but when I inquired into the truth of it from

¹ سبز literally grass

² Son and successor of Fariduddin Sir Shah, reigned A D 1515—1522

³ A famous work in Arabic grammar called in trans. Rukning 48 and note 6

⁴ Then a *pargana* town in the *sukar* and *sabha* of Agra (for its history see 183). Now the headquarters of *taluk* and *nazarat* of the same name in the State of Jaipur in Eastern Rajputana. *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, new series, xiii 130

⁵ Where Humayun was defeated by Sir Shah in A H 946 (A D 1539) File vol 1 trans Ranking p 460

⁶ شیخ فرموده شیخ فرموده Both MSS have شیخ فرموده he said to the Shaykh. In spite of the authority of the MSS the context shows the reading of the text to be correct

his sons, with whom I am connected by marriage, they told me that a *darvîsh* of great attainments¹ had given their father a basket, full of the ingredients necessary for the transmutation of the baser metals, and that to whatever copper this was applied the alchemist's object was attained, but that after their father had once mixed these ingredients with the copper he had no further power of manufacturing gold, as he was unacquainted with the science of alchemy,—but God knows the truth!

I saw the *Shaikh* in Agra in the days when Bairam Khân was in power in the house of Sayyid Shâh Mir,² the nephew of Mir Sayyid Rafî'u-d-din the traditionist. He was an old man of enlightened appearance and of a good disposition. He died in those days, and is buried in Hindânn.

XXX. SHAIKH MUBÂRAK OF ALWAR.³

Salim Shâh used to call him Shâh Mubârak, and used to place his shoes before his feet. The *Shaikh* generally claimed to be a *Sayyid*, and was in great repute among the Afghans. Thus when their power was on the wane and they were fleeing before the *Mughuls* some of the Afghans seized *Shaikh* Islâm⁴ of Fath-pûr suspecting him of being a wealthy man, and, having confined him in a strange manner, carried him off to the fort of Rantambhor. *Shaikh* Mubârak went thither from Alwar by way of Basâwar, and was the means of *Shaikh* Islâm's⁴ liberation.

Shaikh Mubârak twice attained the honour of performing a pilgrimage to the glorious *kâbah*.

the whole of the Qur'an was read, and was journeying to Fathpur by way of Alwar, I was again honoured by an interview with the *Shaikh*. He had, in truth, reached perfection and was most liberal and open-handed. It is now¹ reported that he has recently, at the age of ninety years, bidden farewell to this transitory world.

XXXI *SHAIKH CAVAY LADH OF SOHNA*

(Ladh) Sohna² is a pargana town of Mewāt, eighteen Kurukhs³ distant from Dihli. There is there a hot spring rising from a mine of sulphur. The water is green in colour and smells of sulphur. Even in the winter time the water is so hot that it is impossible to bear it on the body. Bathing at that spring is a remedy for scald head and itch. The smell and colour of the water are clear proof that it springs from sulphur. On summer nights, too, small flashes of fire may be seen on the hills surrounding the town, though nobody kindles a fire there.

The *Shaikh* was one of the most famous successors of *Shaikh* 'Abdu'l-'Aziz of Dihli⁴ and travelled absolutely in the path of poverty. He used to give instruction in Sufiistic books, such as the *Fusus*⁵ and the *Naq'l-i-fusus*⁶ to his pupils, who were seekers after the truth. The emperor towards the end of the *Shaikh's* life, placed great confidence in him and sought the help of his auspices in several important matters of state. He appointed quarters for him in the 'ibādatkhāna close to the imperial palace and

¹ A.H. 1004 (A.D. 1595-96).

² Then in the Rewari sarkār of the sāhibzadah of Dihli (In 'Akbarn, ii, 293 where it is called *Suhnah*). Now a town in the District and tahsil of Gurgaon Panjab (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, new series xiii, 72). The text has 'Ladh Sahni' and the MSS. Laali Sehni. Neither MS. prefixes 'Ladh' to Sohna in the account of the *Shaikh's* life.

³ In reality about twenty five miles.

⁴ Vide In 'Akbarn, i, 38.

⁵ Vide p. 17 and note 8.

⁶ 'The coin of the *Fusus*'. Probably the commentary on the *Fusus* or *Hikam* mentioned on p. 17. Both MSS. read *مَعْرِفَةٍ* (*n. s. s.*) for *فَصُونَفَ*, the meaning of the book's title being, according to them, 'the coin of demonstrations'.

used to admit him to private interviews at night, and the inverted prayers of the recitation of which the emperor was a witness became inverted in their effects.¹

In the year H. 998² (A.D. 1590) when the Shaikh fell sick of the complaint of which he died he sent for the worthy son of Shaikh 'Abdu-'l-'Aziz Qutb-i-'Alam, who was then employed in the army, from Dihli, and, placing before him the patched robe, the staff, and the other insignia of Shaikh-dom, said to him, "These were a trust which I received from your venerable father. You are more worthy of them than I." He then set out on his journey to the next world. The words "the truth of poverty"³ were found to give the date of his death.

Shaikh Qutb-i-'Alam, guided by God's grace, retired from the 111 imperial service, and, obeying the call to follow in his venerable father's footsteps, guided his life thereby. He is settled in Dihli, and is employed, by the emperor's order, in the guardianship of the footprint of his holiness the resort of apostleship⁴ (the blessing and peace of God be upon him!), rendering service to all who visit it. If it please God, who is honoured, he will be endowed with the noble qualities of his honoured father.

XXXII. SHAIKH 'ABDU-'L-GHANĪ OF BADĀON.

He⁵ also is one of the successors of Shaikh 'Abdu-'l-'Aziz. In asceticism⁶ he has no equal in these days, and in seeking solitude,

¹ *Vide* vol. ii, text, p. 286. Shaikh Cāyan Ladī (there called Shaikh Cānīda, or 'Shaikh Jānīda') ventured to prophesy that one of the ladies of the imperial *haram* would bear a son. She bore a daughter, and the Shaikh was somewhat discredited.

² The text, while giving the correct date in words, gives it in figures, wrongly, as 989. *Vide* vol. ii, text, p. 373. The Shaikh is there called Shaikh Jānīladī with 'Shaikh Cāyanladīna' as a variant.

³ حقيقة فقر This chronogram, which gives the date 998, is quoted in vol. ii, text, p. 374, also.

⁴ A large stone bearing a footprint said to be that of Muhammad, brought from Makkah by Shāh Abū Turāb in A.D. 1582. *Vide* vol. ii, p. 310.

⁵ MS. (A) gives the Shaikh's name here.

⁶ The text has ترک این here. Some word has apparently been omitted,

he is the "Shihh¹" of the age. At the beginning of his career when he was a student in Budaon he used to be overcome by religious ecstasy, and sometimes even in the midst of his studies on hearing the chanting of a mystical song he would remain insensible for a whole watch of the day, more or less. When his intimate friends asked him what he had seen to bring this ecstatic trance upon him he would reply "I know nothing of it."

In consequence of the responsibilities which he incurred by his marriage, which is² a pitfall for enlightened seekers after knowledge,—

Couplet

Who are the robbers whom we encounter on our road to God?

Those robbers are no other than women—

he came to Dihl in search of a livelihood and there entered the service of Tatar Khān³ the governor of the city, who, though clad in the habiliments of the great ones of the earth was one of the godly. The Shihh attached himself as a disciple to Shihh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz and under him he studied all those books which are generally current and are included in the ordinary curriculum. He then spent several years in teaching, and was then suddenly drawn mysteriously by God's grace, and abandoning all his occupations, he joined the circle of ascetic dārvishes in the Shihh's hospice, and employed himself in striving in the path of holiness and in self mortification. After attaining perfection he left human limitations and took up his dwelling near the footprint of his holiness the resort of apostleship (may the blessing and peace of God be upon him!), in a *mīqāt* known as

but the MSS. give no help. It is among the passage is forever cleat.

¹ A famous Muhammadan saint. See vol. 1 trans. Ranking, p. 9 and note 1.

² مکاری مس (A) لار گویا which is equally good and MS. (B) سکون which is wrong.

³ See *Ishā' Al-Bukhārī* 424. Tatar Khān is dat. Dihl in A H 986 (A D 1578-79) or according to the *Tilqat* in A H 1085 (A D 1577-78).

the *masjid* of Khān-i-Jahān. There he dwells in religious seclusion, and, in spite of his having a large family, he follows a religious rule, with a firm trust in God. He had not taken one step from the corner of retirement when in the year H. 1003 (A.D. 1594-95) the Khān-i-Khānān¹ waited upon him, and asked him for his advice. He said, "Deem the following of the holy law² of Muḥammad (may the blessing and peace of God be upon him!) to be of the first importance." At the time when this hastily compiled history was written Aḥmad-i-Ṣūfiyak³ and Hisāmak⁴ of Banāras, men newly converted to Islām, who in the religious strife of these latter days are branded with the mark of eternal execration—

Masnavī.

Stand aloof from the *Sūfīs* of the city and the country,
All of them are unmanly wretches, devourers of men.
Whatever one gives to them that they devour,
Whatever lies in their power that they do.
They have no occupation but sleeping and eating,
They take no thought on the day on which they shall die—

for the purpose of averting from themselves their evil reputation and concealing their gross immorality, formed the design of dispatching a *farmān* summoning from Dihlī to Lāhōr Shaikh ‘Abdu-l-Ghani with one or two of his surviving children, whose names will be mentioned hereafter, for the purpose of urging him to submit to the new orders,⁵ which they themselves had most readily and cheerfully accepted. The Shaikh wrote a letter to me setting forth his helplessness and asking to be excused, and accordingly, after many representations Aḥmad-i-Ṣūfiyak was appeased, and abandoned his design, and he caused

¹ Mīrzā ‘Abdu-r-Rahīm.

² مُنْتَهٰ with شُوَبِعَتْ as a variant.

³ Aḥmad, the wretched little *Sūfī*. *Vide* vol. ii, text, p. 405.

⁴ 'The wretched little Hisām.' Possibly Maulānā Hisāmu-d-din of Lāhor, who differed from the other ‘ulamā of Lāhor. *Vide* *Aīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 538. The designation "of Banāras" may be given in contempt.

⁵ i.e., regarding the 'divine faith,' the manner of salutation at court, etc.

a letter to be written and sent to the Shaykh excusing him from attending in obedience to the summons and asking forgiveness for what he had done Please God the matter will end satisfactorily

XXXIII. Shaykh Bunur of Durr

He is very learned in the traditional sayings of the prophet 113 Having associated much with men who are devoted to a life of poverty and self effacement he has now for some time past recognized the delights of such a life and the grace of God helping him, has set himself to follow it for good and less no longer any dealings with the worldly but is busied in teaching and instructing his pupils

XXXIV. Shaykh 'Abdu'l Haqq of Durr

He has taken *Haqq* as his poetical name He is a compound of perfect qualities and a source of excellence He gives instruction in all branches of knowledge both in those in which the reasoning faculty is called into play and in those which depend on the memory He has attained a high degree in *Sufism* and among his works are the *History of Madinah the Luminous*, and a book on the modern Shaykhs of India the date of the writing of which is given by the words *zakru'l Auliya*¹ From his earliest youth he has sought eagerly after God, and on account of his long standing friendship with them he was for some time the companion in Lathpur, of Shaykh Iuzi and Muza Niramu d din Ahmad, and by means of them I also had the honour of being permitted to wait on him and continually enjoyed the advantages of his society When a change came over the spirit of the time and the men of the time all of whom are corrupters of what is good and compounded of the abominations of their own natures, and it was no longer safe to trust the dispositions of one's friends the companionship of such a one and

¹ The chronogram gives the date A H 999 (A D 1590/91) I have not been able to find any mention elsewhere of Shaykh 'Abdu'l Haqq's works

such a one¹ became disagreeable to him, and, the grace of God influencing him, he was impelled to journey to the most noble *Ka'bah*, and he left Dihli for Gujarāt, in the condition of one who is mysteriously attracted by God, and cut off from all worldly concerns. Thanks to the good offices and assistance of Mīrzā Nizāmu'-d-din Ahmad he there obtained a passage on a ship bound for the Ḥijāz, but, being hindered by physical difficulties, he was unable to reach Madīnah the Tranquil (on its inhabitants be peace and salutation!), and he spent some time in Makkah the glorious with Shaikh 'Abdu'-l-Wahhāb of India, the follower of

114 Shaikh Raḥmatu'-llāh the traditionist (may the mercy of God be upon him!), who, having returned from the pilgrimage to Makkah with Ḥājī Begam,² came to Agra, where I drank some of the water of Zamzam³ from his auspicious hands, and took some lessons from him in the traditional sayings of Muḥammad, by way of a good augury, and from him, Shaikh 'Abdu'-l-Wahhāb, that is, he received permission to give instruction in the traditional sayings, and then returned to his well-loved native land. Here he cloaks his *Sūfi*-ism by giving instruction in those branches of knowledge which are included in the ordinary course of education. His aspirations are so high that he will not, if God the most High please, be ensnared on his heavenly way, and fail of attaining his object.

At the time when he returned from Makkah the glorious to Dihli, and I, perplexed and troubled in pursuit of my object, was on my way to the imperial camp, I had the opportunity of paying my respects to him for a few minutes, and after I had arrived at Lāhōr I wrote him a letter. I place a copy of it on record by way of invoking a blessing and as a memento:—

"After expressing my subjection to you, and the obligations which I owe you, I would represent that the affairs of this disappointed exile are, so far as is compatible with exile and dis-

¹ These expressions are evidently a subterfuge to avoid mentioning the names of the emperor and his favourites, such as Abū-l-Fażl and Faiṣ.

² Daughter of the brother of Humāyūn's mother. She returned from the pilgrimage in A.D. 1574 and died in A.D. 1581. *Vide* vol. ii, text, p. 209.

³ Hagar's well, at Makkah.

appointment, matter for thankfulness, and it is my hope that you too are constantly surrounded by God's protection. When you returned to Delhi and honoured me for one delightful hour, that interview did nothing but excite my thirst and vehement desire for your society, and so much remained unsaid and unheard that I cannot express it. A year of companionship is but an hour¹ as has been said, and I myself experienced the truth of the saying. Indeed, the same might be said even of lifelong companionship (between friends). They said 'We have tarried for a day, or part of a day'². This world does not allow us sufficient time for companionship, or the delights of the society of friends; if then friendship be true and its bonds strong it may be that on the morrow, beyond the grave, we shall enjoy this companionship, 'seated face to face on thrones'³ please God. To day we must devote our efforts to strengthening the bonds and to directing 115 our aims aright. The time for true companionship will be the morrow, when presence and absence will be like and what we here call separation and union will be the same. May God (be He glorified and exalted!) grant to us some kind of affinity, even though it should be common to all, so that we may understand truly what sincerity really means. I pray you to keep your heart towards me, as mine is towards you. I have ascertained with the eye of certainty that the real meaning of affection and the true signification of friendship have implanted themselves in your nature, 'and praise be to God therefor'. May he increase them and not diminish them. There was an honoured man, one of the dwellers in the two holy places, who used constantly to recite this prayer — 'O God! as Thou hast favoured so do Thou increase Thy favours, and as Thou hast increased them so do Thou continue them, and as Thou hast continued them, so do Thou bless them to us. May God (be He glorified and exalted!)

١. مَذْدُوّة الْوَصَالِ مَسَاعَةٌ Both MSS. and the text have, wrongly, مَذْدُوّة الْوَصَالِ مَسَاعَةٌ.

٢. قَالُوا لَنَا تَوْمًا أَوْ نَعْصُ يَوْمًا Qur'an, xviii, 18

٣. عَلَى سَرِيرٍ مُّقْتَالِيَّينَ Qur'an, xv, 46

increase, continue, and bless to us the gift of true knowledge and love, by the dignity of the chief of the first and the last of men, Muhammad, and his family, and his companions, all of them! If you should ever honour your friend with a kind letter I hope that you will also honour and delight me with whatever holy news you may have of his holiness the Shaikh, him to whom all men turn, and who is named Kalimu-'llāh (may God bless and preserve him!), and that you will convey to his noble presence a few words from me, so that I may not disappear from his memory. Much as I wished to write something on this subject my pen refused its office. Nor was there any need that I should write anything, for when the time came for me to make my requests of the Mirzā¹ I composed some verses on this subject, moreover I wrote plainly that there was no occasion for ceremony. I hope that you will be diligent in delivering that letter. Farewell."

Shaikh Faizi, after his return from the Dakan, following his old custom of ingeniously tormenting his friends, was very desirous of gathering them round him in order to increase the attractions of his social circle and to indulge in conversation with them and was constantly annoying and troubling them (to come to him).

Hemistich.

Our friend has this, and also that.

116 He sent several letters from Lāhor to express the strong desire which he had of summoning Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq to him. The Shaikh, however, was exceedingly vexed, and would not come, but sent letters containing excuses, and made his seclusion from the world his pretext for not coming. Shaikh Faizi then sent in reply the letter of which a copy appears below, and this is the last letter which he wrote, and what is written in it is written.

"My strong desire of seeing you, my spiritual friend, dear to the Lord (may He long preserve you!) was not of the nature of official or formal matters, that it should have been reduced to writing. At first I was not aware that you were sick at heart—

¹ Mirzā Nizāmu-d-dīn Ahmad.

that heart which displays bounty—and it is probable that I may have expressed my desire (somewhat too strongly). After I became aware that you had closed this way of access I give your wishes precedence over my own, and I trust that the odour (of this action) will be agreeable to you. My request now is that you should not give yourself over to melancholy in your place of retirement. Two or three days ago that choicest of saints, Miyān Shaikh Musā¹ honoured my poor dwelling with a visit, and said that it was not improbable that you would be coming hither about this time. I pressed him to tell me what grounds he had for saying this, but he left the matter uncertain and undetermined. I swear by God, the Supreme Object of worship that I gave him no hint of my own wishes, nor shall I do so.

Hemistich

When the time comes for speech what need is there of a lotto?

If you remain at home, it is light, and if you come it will be light upon light. I swear by God that I have constrained myself to forego this wish and that I have not of my own accord given any intimation of my desire, nor shall I do so. I hope that you will not vex yourself further regarding this matter. But if I had wings I would sit daily on the roof of your chamber and would gather 117 the grains of your affectionate discourse, trilling forth the song of my desire. What more shall I write? Your pearl-like² petitions are few and far between. I pray you for God's sake close not the road against the caravan of my secrets. If it is closed from your side it shall not be from mine. Greetings. I send supplications to the Alexander of the throne of holy poverty, Miyān Buhīlā. In the past two days what is expressed in the following quatrain has come to pass in a certain connection—

¹ Probably Shaikh Musā of Fathpur Sikri elder brother of Shaikh Salim-i-Cishti, but perhaps Shaikh Musā of Lahore (*In-i-Khatti*, 1, 539) or Shaikh Musā, younger brother of Maulana 'Abdu'l Qadū.

² *Adas* is either *dari dana* 'seed pearls' or *daidana*, 'sympathetic,' or, 'grief laden.'

Quatrain.

“ Faīzī ! Old age is upon thee, walk circumspectly,
Let each step that thou takest be such as may be
approved.

Through spectacles of glass thou wilt perceive naught,
Tear a bit from thy heart and place it on thine eyes.”

Glory be to God ! That Shaikh Faīzī has passed away and become a by-word, and as for these, the mention of whom is still among us for a few days, or rather for a few hours, who are they that we should waste time in addressing them where preparation is even now being made for our departure hence ? All that remains to them is the wind of speech. How long shall we waste our time in measuring it ?

Couplet.

It will not be long before no trace of us remains,
You have broken the flask and spilt the wine, there is no
cupbearer (to replace it).

XXXV. MAULĀNĀ ILĀHDĀD¹ OF SULTĀNPŪR.

He originally came from Banoda, a village in Sind. He was a pupil of Makhdūmu'l-Mulk. He is distinguished for the nobility of his descent. Although he was formerly much puffed up with the pride of learning and youth he has now gained experience, and his former pride has been changed for poverty and humility. For some time he held the appointment of *Sadr* of the *Sūba* of the Panjāb² but has now for a long time past held that of *Qāzī* of the new settlement of the Ilāhābād,³ and remains in the imperial service, contenting himself with the small allowance which has been allotted to him in that city, and refraining from constantly visiting the houses of the worldly. He is endowed with probity and is zealous in devotion to God.

¹ In vol. ii, text, p. 295, he is called Nullā Ilāhdād *Nabawī* of Sultānpur, and is said to be notorious for his evil disposition.

² According to vol. ii (*loc. cit.*), he was *sadr* of one of the Dūabs in the Panjāb, probably of the Jee Dūab, between the Jihlām and the Cināb.

³ Probably in 1583, *vide* vol. ii, text, p. 335.

In those branches of knowledge which call for the exercise of the reasoning faculty he was a pupil of Ḥakīmu'l Mulk,² and he acquired those which depend on the memory from other teachers. He is a capable and ready divine and very liable to fits of religious ecstasy. He is now in attendance on the imperial court. His understanding is good. He is inclined to religious retirement, and most of his time is spent in devotion. He was employed for some years, by the interest of Qiliq Khan,³ in the administration of some *parganas* in the Duab. He has now come to court and is ranked among the mansabdars.⁴

XXXVII HAJI SULTAN OF THANE SAR

He has acquired the honour of performing the pilgrimage to Makkah the glorious and Madinah the delectable. He is well versed in those branches of learning which depend on the memory and was for a long time in the imperial service. He was employed for four years alone and without any coadjutor, on the translation of the *Mahābhārata* which is known as the *Rāmānāma*,⁵ and what was begun by Naqib Khan was finished by him. On account of an accusation of the crime of cow killing which was brought against him by the Hindus of that *pargana*,⁶ an order was issued for his banishment to Bhakkar, and the Khan-i-Khanān, who was in those days in charge of the Suba (of Multan) treated him with great consideration and kindness, and

¹ Then a pargana town in the Sirhind sarkar of the suba of Delhi. Now a town in the Bhawani gahū *tahsil* and Karnagah *nizamat* of the Patiala State, in the Panjab. *Vide I p. Caetera of India* new series xvi 1

² *Vide sūra c. xi no 1*

³ *Vide A. A.*, vol 1 (trans Blochmann) p 364, also *infra* c. iv no xv

⁴ His name does not appear in the *list of Akbars* among the mansabdars

⁵ *Vide A. A.* vol 1 (trans Blochmann pp 104-105 or) also *Badaoni* II 302 (text). Haji Sultan seems to have translated two parts of the *Mahābhārata* besides some portions of other parts omitted by the other translators, who were besides the Haji and Naqib Khan Badaoni himself who was much disgusted with his task and Faizi the elder brother of Abu'l Faiz

⁶ Th nesār

applied ointment to the wounds of his soul. After that land had been completely subjugated the Khān-i-Khānān took Hāji Sultān with him thence, and promised to procure the reversal of the sentence of banishment which had been passed against him. Hāji Sultān returned secretly to his native place, and the Khān-i-Khānān, after conquering the province of Asīrgāṛh and Burhānpūr, prayed in one of his petitions for the reversal of the sentence against him. His request was granted, and Providence watched over the Hāji's affairs, so that the emperor privately ordered Shaikh Abū-l-Fażl to appoint him *Karōrī* of Thānēsar and Karnāl,¹ so that he was freed from the fear that had beset him. He still holds the appointment of *Karōrī*.

din, the *Mufti*, used to live Students and *Sufis* were gathered together in his hospice and profit by his companionship He had one pupil, a one-eyed man named Maulānā Farid, of whom it was said that, although he had not studied deeply, as soon as a difficult question or subtle and obscure argument was propounded to him from any advanced² book whatsoever, he would at once call for pen and inkstand, and, having reduced it to writing, would solve it immediately, although he could not give the solution orally, or even read what he had himself written. Shaikh Ziyā'u'llah³ and the whole of the *Ghawriyyah* order submitted themselves entirely to the authority of this (Farid), so that their subjection to the Sayyid may be imagined I have also heard that the same Farid would in one night relate to Sayyid Shāh Mir events that had just happened in the farthest parts of the world, east or west Some attributed this power to the possession of a *jinn*, and others to other causes In the year in which the emperor summoned Shaikh Ziyā'u'llah from Agra with great favour and kindness and assigned a place to him in the 'Ibādat khana on an occasion when there was a gathering of the *Shaykhs* and 'Ulamā, I one night in private questioned the Shaikh concerning the matter of Fa'ud the scribe, and, after relating what was spread abroad concerning him, I said, "Are these things really so?" The Shaikh first of all enumerated his own fragmentary writings and the works of which he was the author, detailed his own accomplishments and acquirements, and gave me a full account of himself, and then said, "In spite of all these favours which God (may His Majesty be exalted!) has bestowed upon me I cannot call myself so much as a gleaner (in the field of knowledge) after Shaikh Farid, and all that you have heard of him does not amount to one hundredth part of the truth His

¹ اگلے MS (B) has wrongly, اکلے

² اعلیٰ This is the reading of the text Both MSS have اعلیٰ 'of or relating to one who is authorized to deliver a *fatawa*' The textual emendation appears to me to be correct, and I have accordingly adopted it

³ *Vide infra*, No XL Both MSS wrongly insert the name as a headline here

dignity is above it all, and he has attained this great good fortune by means of sweeping the threshold of the holy Sayyid Shāh Mir. Now I had seen Sayyid Shāh Mir before this at Badāon, whither he had gone on business connected with his subsistence allowance. A copy of the *Mashāriqu'-l-Anwār*¹ was between us, and we had much learned discourse. He certainly had the mediative faculty strongly developed, a pleasant disposition, a ready understanding and a good stock of knowledge, but I did not find him such a prodigy as Shaikh Ziyā'u'llāh and other men had represented. As for the rest, God the most High knows the truth. It may be that he purposely concealed his abilities from me, but indeed what need is there to suppose that he might not have displayed to others those abilities of the display of which² he allowed me to be disappointed?

XXXIX.—SAYYID YĀSĪN.

He is one of the cousins of Sayyid Shāh Mir. He studied most of the books usually current, and acquired all such knowledge as is included in the ordinary course of education under Miyān Vajihu'd-dīn,³ in Gujārāt, and also became his disciple in spiritual matters. He acquired the honour of performing the pilgrimage of Islām, and studied the traditions in the Hijāz, and there received authority to give instruction therein. Thence he returned to India, and spent some time in Lāhor in the company of wealthy and powerful men, who were concerned with the affairs of the state. He then broke off his companionship with these men, and lived in Sirhind, clad in the garb of Shaikhs and the raiment of those who follow a life of holy poverty, and for some time gave instruction there to his followers, who were clad in blue, and he also claimed to be a religious leader. Since he was ever desirous of going again to Gujārāt, and thence

¹ A work on the *Aḥādīth*, or traditional sayings of Muhammad.

² The text has, carelessly, أَسْعِي for أَسْعَى. Both MSS. have the correct reading.

³ *Vide supra*, p. 70.

to the two holy place he could not rest in the district of Sindh and went to Bengal, where he is now travelling. It remains to be seen whether his destiny will lead him and in what land he will at last find the happiness of retirement.

XL.—شیخ محدث

He is the successor of Shaikh Muhammad Ghous¹. Few of the Shaikhs of this age can be his equals in Sufiistic converse. In his assembly the talk was ever of true knowledge and nothing was spoken of save the contemplation of unity and the asceticism of the Sufis but who knows what his private opinions may be² or to what extent he will carry his claims? At the beginning of his career when the report of him was spread abroad in all the surrounding country, I heard that the Shaikh had succeeded his father in the throne of holy poverty and religious leadership and that in some accomplishments³ he excelled him, for instance, that he could explain the meaning of the *Qur'an* in such a manner that there was no need of a commentary⁴ besides having committed the *Quran* to memory, so that he had it on the tip of his tongue. Accordingly in the year H 970 (A.D. 1562-63) I went to visit him in Agra and that without⁵ the intervention of any person to introduce me and to act as a mentor and in the character of one who was altogether free from ceremony and had been long disappointed of his object, a character to which I had accustomed myself. Indeed in visiting holy men worldly means and the intervention of men interested in externals only are disturbing elements in the attainment of one's object. I made the usual salutation and I had a conversation with him face to face. The Shaikh himself, from the high consideration in which he was held, was probably

¹ *Vide p. 6*

در ناطق کسی کاظم نسب و برتاطن وی کسی ای نسب MS (B) has در ناطق کسی کاظم نسب و برتاطن وی کسی ای نسب which is nonsense

² مصلحت MS (A) has مصلحت

³ احتمالی نہ تصور MS (A) has احتمالی نہ تصور

⁴ و میلہ MS (B) has و میلہ & which is wrong

a slave to those ceremonial observances dear to Shaikhs' sons, and my unceremonial manner of visiting him displeased him. Those who were present in his assembly said to me, "Where do you come from?" I said, "From Sahsarām."¹ When they asked me whether I had made any advance in the study of the sciences, I said that I had, at one time or another, studied a little of each one of them. Since Sahsawān is an inconsiderable town and at that time Qilij Khan,² Caugān Begi, the disciple of the Shaikh's father, was *jāgirdār* of that place, I was of small account in his eyes, and he esteemed me lightly and began to jest with me and mock me, and made a sign to a jester who was present, prompting him to scare me and turn me out of my place, but I, becoming aware of these proceedings, the like of which I had often witnessed, pretended that I had noticed nothing and posed as an innocent fool. The jester then began his pranks, saying, "the odour of some sweet scent has reached my nostrils, and my brain is becoming disordered, let those who are present in the assembly have a care, lest I do some one a mischief." He then began to foam at the mouth and one of the Shaikh's companions, who posed as a *Sūfi*, asked me whether I had applied the scent to myself. I said, "Yes; but what is the matter?" He said, "This person whom you see in this state of unconsciousness was once bitten by a mad dog, and now, whenever he smells a sweet scent he falls to foaming at the mouth, howling like a dog, and tries to bite people. Have a care for yourself." Those who were present there began to flee and the Shaikh too, inaugurating this new custom, joined with them in setting himself knowingly to terrify me, and became the accomplice³ of those devilish men. At that moment I said, "It is strange that men travel from distant lands to this exalted

¹ Then a *pargana* town in the Ruhtās *sarkār* of the *śūba* of Bihār, now the headquarters of a subdivision in the Shāhabād District of Bengal. *Vide Imp. Gazetteer of India*, new series, xxii, 111. Shir Shāh of Dihlī and his father, Hasan Shāh Sūr, are buried at Sahsarām.

² *Vide Āīn-i-Akbarī*, 34, 354.

³ The text has here, wrongly, موانقت (Mawāqib). The reading of the MSS. is correct.

threshold in order to obtain the fulfilment of their desires when, as a matter of fact, one who has been bitten by a mad dog cannot find a remedy here." The Shaikh asked me whether I knew of a remedy, and, on my replying that I did, asked me what it was. I replied, "This man should be beaten on the head with shoes and clods, as Shaikh Sa'di (may God have mercy upon him!) said —

HISTORICAL

"The cure for a bad dog is a clod."

They were all astonished, and I continued, 'The strange thing is,' I said, 'that *kulukh* is also the name of a vegetable drug, which is a remedy for the bite of a dog.' The Shaikh then became uneasy,¹ fearing that his jest had fallen flat, and said, 'Come, let us go and busy ourselves with the study of the words of God and His prophet.' Then, taking a copy of the glorious Qur'an he proceeded to expound a verse from the chapter of 'The Cow,'² and in doing so exercised the right of private judgment very freely.³ His pupils, blockheads that they were, assented to every absurdity that he concocted, saying, 'We believe it, we accept it!' I, since my heart was full (of indignation) said, 'Perhaps this interpretation which is given by the Shaikh is to be found in the commentary.' He replied, 'I am speaking of the secondary meaning⁴ of the text and what may be inferred from it,⁵ and this is a common practice and by no means a peculiarity of my own.' I said, 'Taking this for granted, is your interpretation literal or the metaphorical meaning of the text?' He replied, 'The metaphorical meaning.' I replied, 'Pray then explain the connection between the two interpretations' and led him on into an argument regarding the meanings

¹ حَسْبُكِي is the reading of both MSS and is correct. The editor of the text, apparently not understanding the idiom, has altered it to حَسْبِكِي.

2 The second chapter of the Qur'an

³ عدی means 'from me'. It is here expressly used as a substantive 'from meism, 'invention'

* تاریخ : The word signifies 'tarung language from its obvious meaning'.

⁵ سیگنال 'a sign,' i.e. what the text indicates by implication.

of the text. He replied disconnectedly and glanced, in an agitated manner, in all directions. When I held him firmly to the point he lost his temper, and said, shutting up the *Qur'ān*, "I have not studied dialectics." I said, "You have presumed so far as to interpret a text of the *Qur'ān* in a manner unsupported by tradition, and it is necessary that the connection between the literal interpretation and (your) metaphorical interpretation should be investigated." He then turned the subject and began to ask me about myself. In the meantime I produced a portion of a commentary which I had written on the *Qasīdatu'l-Burdah*,¹ and called his attention to the expressions in the opening couplet of that *qaṣīdah* which had struck me. He praised my work, and himself also said something on the same subject, and our interview came to an end in that manner. This was all I saw of him until the time when I entered the imperial service, when the *Shaikh* in obedience to a summons from the Court came alone and helpless to the 'Ibādat-*khāna*, where he took his place. It was on a Friday when the *Shaikh* with one or two of his intimate companions first entered the 'Ibadat-*khāna* and Mirzā Ghiyāṣu-d-din 'Alī the theologian,² Mirzā Ākh'und, and Mirzā 'Alī Āṣaf Khān³ had been ordered to examine the *Shaikh* thoroughly and to question him on his *Sūfi*-ism, in order to see what he would let fall. Āṣaf Khān introduced into the conversation the following quatrain from the *Liwā'iḥ*,⁴

" If thoughts of the rose pass in thy heart, thou becomest a rose,
 If thoughts of the passionate nightingale pass, thou becomest a nightingale,
 Thou art only an atom, God is all,
 If thou accustom thyself to meditate on 'Him who is all in all, thou wilt become all."

¹ *Vide* p. 4, note 1.

² Probably Naqīb Khān. *Vide* *Aīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 447.

³ Āṣaf Khān's name was Mirzā Ghiyāṣu-d-din 'Alī also, and both MSS. insert his full name. *Vide* *Aīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 433.

⁴ The *Liwā'iḥ* is a mystical poem by the great poet Mullā 'Abdu-n-Rahmān-i-Jāmī.

He then asked How can God the most Holy be described as all or the whole ? since He is above being defined as a part or the whole ? The Shaikh who had undergone much tribulation before coming to Court and whose pride, haughtiness and self conceit were completely broken, since he had endured much trouble was very modest and indistinctly muttered a few words which nobody understood At last I growing bold ventured to say "Although the Maulavi Jamī (may his tomb be sanctified !) has in this quatrain applied the expression the whole to God the most Holy and most High yet he has in another quatrain spoken of Him as being divisible into parts and far be that from the most High !"

Quatrain

As for this love which is a part of the Indissoluble One
(whom) we (love)

God forbid that it should be comprehended of our intelligence

Happy will it be for us if there fash a ray from the light
of certainty

Which will free us from the darkness of our doubts

The meaning of these passages is that whatever can be conceived, whether it be the whole or a part is nothing but God, and that besides Him there is no true existence In short, since words fail to express the writer's meaning adequately he uses them in various senses explaining (God's existence) sometimes as a whole and sometimes as (possessing) parts I then adduced several propositions regarding the inherent unity of essence a principle which had at that time become ingrained in me, and called upon the Shaikh to corroborate my arguments and both 125 the emperor and the Shaikh were well pleased with my discourse About this time Shukh Ismail the half brother of the Shaikh, new whom I lived in the quarter of the Khajayi Jahan in Fatehpur, and with whom I was on terms of intimate

¹ The text has wrongly و. Both MSs have و.

companionship, took me, in obedience to Shaikh Ziyā'u-llāh's wish, to the 'Ibādatkhāna, and there introduced me to him, and related to him the story of my meeting with him eleven years before, which he had heard from me. Shaikh Ziyā'u-llāh was much perturbed and said that he did not remember that any such thing had happened. The Shaikh, although he pretends to refrain from company, which is really self-advertisement, now lives in Āgra, in outward appearance, like his father, one of the holy men, while on the contrary he spends his time in self-indulgence and idleness, clad in the raiment of men of rank, and retains his old habits, many strange utterances, calculated to deceive the vulgar, and delivered with apparent simplicity, being reported. I have not space to record them.

Mīr Abū'l-Ghaīṣ of Buḳhārā¹ (may the mercy of God be upon him !) used to say, "Let him be what he may, with his devotee's raiment, his assemblies of those vowed to holy poverty, and his discourses on mysticism. We believe in him with our whole heart!"

In the year in which the Khān-i-Zamān was defeated² Shaikh Ziyā'u-llāh accompanied the army to Ambethī, and had an interview with his holiness Miyān Shaikh Nizāmu-d-dīn (may his tomb be sanctified!). When the Miyān was commenting on the blessed verse, "And therein shall they be given to drink of a cup of wine, mixed with the water of Zanjabil, a fountain in paradise named Salsabil,"³ Shaikh Ziyā'u-llāh, with a view of displaying his ability, interrupted the discourse, and said, "There is a discrepancy between this verse and another verse of the Qur'ān." The Miyān was moved to anger and said, "Holy is God! The father dived in that (sea of doubt) and must now be feeling the utmost need of intercession, and the son here sets himself to prove discrepancies between the words of God (be He honoured and glorified!)!"

¹ *Vide infra*, No. XLI.

² A.D. 1567. *Vide* vol. ii, text, p. 100.

³ قُرْآنٌ وَيَسْفُونَ فِيهَا كَامِسًا كَانَ مَزَاجُهَا زَنجِبِيلًا عَيْنَا فِيهَا تَسْمَى سَلْسَبِيلًا

Everything that is in the heart is not instruction¹

XLI. MIR AKBAR: GUIDE OF BEHAVIOR

He was a high minded man and a follower of the pure religion who had so required angelic qualities that they became as it were ingrafted in his noble nature. Though clad in the outward garb of wealth he possessed the inward attributes of holy poverty. From association with many of the great *Shaykhs* of his time he had profited much and had inherited much of the customs of his noble ancestors. In good breeding but especially in liberal disbursement of his substance² in independence of character good fellowship and uprightness in his dealings he was one of the nobliest of God's works. He followed the exact moral observances of the law and imitated the laudable qualities of the ancients and their successors so closely that he omitted not the observance of one tittle of the holy law³. Such were his endeavours to fulfil all the requirements of the law of the congregation⁴ that even in the time of his mortal sickness, when he was suffering from a painful chronic disorder he did not omit the recital of the *Allāhu Akbar*⁵ at the commencement of his prayers. The conversation in his assemblies consisted always of texts from the *Qur'an* traditional sayings of the prophet and the words of holy men. He died in the year H 995 (A.D. 1587)⁶ and the words "The Mir of laudable qualities"⁷ were found to give the date of his death.

¹ مدل و اعماق MS (A) has, wrongly, مدل و اعماق

² The text here has شرعی, evidently a misprint for شرعی, the reading of both MSS

³ صفات حکم the law as interpreted by the *Sunnah*

⁴ Vide supra p 36 n 4

⁵ Those words "He died * * 995" are omitted from the text, though they appear in both MSS

⁶ در مسند ۴۰ + ۱۰ + ۲۰۰ + ۶۰ + ۱۰۰ + ۵ + ۴ + ۵ + ۶۰ + ۱۰ + ۲۰۰ = ۹۹۵

XLII. MIYĀN KAMĀLU-D-DĪN HUSAIN OF SHIRĀZ.

When the heart in calling loved ones to remembrance blossoms like the rose it is not becoming that the dust of vexation should reach or settle upon the hearts of friends even though the account of their lives be somewhat prolonged.

Miyān Kamālu-d-dīn Husain is the worthy son of Maulānā Hasan of Shirāz who at the time when Shāh Isma'il was expelled from Shirāz went to Makkah the glorious, and on his return thence came to Gujarāt in the reign of Sultān Sikandar Lōdi,¹ and, accompanying the caravan of Sayyid Rafi'u-d-dīn the traditionist,² and Miyān Abū-'l-Fath of Khurāsān, the father of Miyān Budh, he took up his residence in Agra. The famous and well-known Shaikh Zainu-d-dīn³ praises him as follows :—

127 “ My verse is of both reason and tradition, therefore I would
 that it should be hearkened to

By him who combines the knowledge of sciences both of
reason and tradition, Maulānā Hasan.”

Miyān Kamālu-d-dīn Husain is an angel in the form of a man, whose laudable qualities and praiseworthy attributes are more than can be either written or related. The emperor, recognizing that he was distinguished for his greatness and loftiness (of mind), was exceedingly desirous that he should enter the imperial service. At last he abandoned everything, and contenting himself with a small grant of land for his subsistence found complete happiness in the exile of poverty and the honour of good faith, and spends his time in continual devotion. He lives, free from care, sometimes in Dihli and sometimes in Agra. From earliest youth till old age he has walked uninterruptedly in the path of devotion, reciting the praises of God, giving alms, reciting set portions of the word of God, and reading the Qur'ān, knowing no other habit of life; but with all this excellence and perfection

¹ Reigned from Dec. 1488 to Jan. 1517.

² Vide vol. i, trans. Ranking, p. 476, and note 5.

³ Probably Shaikh Zainu-d-dīn Vafā'i. Vide vol. i, trans. Ranking, p. 609, and note 5.

in religious matters he has the highest ability, and perfect eloquence, excellent penmanship, skill in orthography and a masterly style are his by inheritance

When I first came to Agra in my youth, in the time of Bahadur Khan, the first place where I lodged was his *masjid*, where bounty was bestowed upon me, and his dwelling, where my soul was cherished, and there, in my opinion, the gates of happiness were first opened to me

From that time till the time of writing this hasty memoir a period of full forty years has elapsed, during which time I have observed that his kindness, sympathy, and regard for my friendship have increased daily, although (I could) not (have believed that) there was room for any increase —

Poetry

Enough of love, for that grows less enough of beauty, for
that decays

But my love for thee and thy beauty remain undiminished
—nay, have increased

What now follows is a few drops distilled from his musk-diffusing pen, now incorporated by me in this record of friendship They are as follows —

"In¹ the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate! 128

We bless his prophet the gracious one, and love for thee
has not waned but its strength is increased towards
thee,

and my desire towards thee is as it is.

¹ This is a letter from Kimaluddin Husain to Badaoni. The style is stilted and bombastic in the original and must necessarily appear more so in the translation but as the substance of the letter is of no importance I have preferred to render it literally. As is usual in epistles of this nature, the writer refers both to himself and to the person whom he addresses in the third person, using in the latter case the plural of respect. As this plural cannot be used in English the continued use of the third person is apt to be confusing. I have, therefore retained it in the exordium only except where honorific titles appear in the body of the letter.

This atom of dust, inconsiderable and full of defects and blemishes, Kamālu-d-dīn Husain, after conveying to you the greetings of an exile and the salutations of one who longs to see you, with the tongue of abridgment and brevity, of supplication and poverty, conveys to the enlightened mind, coruscating with benignity, namely, the mind of my worshipful master, the resort of clemency (may God save and preserve him and bestow on him all that pertains to matters both of religion and of the world !), the intelligence that since in these mournful days the hardships of loneliness and the grief of separation, the anxiety of religious duties and the absence of all traces of love and friendship have become my lot, I have sometimes in my restlessness travelled to the imperial city of Dihli and have there acquired the honour of visiting the blessed tombs (of the Saints), and at other times have gone to Agra to see my friendless children (may God guard them with his power !) who dwell there in retirement, and I was much disturbed in mind, when those kind letters from my lord¹ began to arrive at irregular intervals. I swear by God that they conveyed very much consolation and comfort to my mournful heart, and for some days I took delight in studying and repeating them, and morning and evening I raised and still raise my hands in prayer to the All-Wise, praying Him to grant length of life to my lord¹ :—

Hemistich.

(I pray to) God that thou mayest live till the day of resurrection.

But I will not dilate further on this subject, and will commit it to the care of the All-Wise God who knows the truth, and passing to my ulterior (outward) object, will bring it to your consideration,² informing you that for a long time I endured

¹ The word used here is *پادشاہ*, '(my lord's) servants.' The writer affects, as is usual in the language of oriental compliment, to be unworthy to mention the name of the person whom he addresses, and therefore speaks of his 'servants.' The best-known example of this idiom is the phrase *بندگان عالی* ('the exalted slaves') for 'his majesty,' or 'your majesty.'

² *میگردد عذاب*, literally 'I become the means of giving you a headache.'

great grief and sorrow from bearing of the death of that repository of humanity, inseparably connected with liberality, him who had acquired all perfections, Muizi Nizamuddin Ahmad, and from the passing away of all the excellence of that phoenix of the age and of his love and faithful affection for you, my lord¹ 'Verily we are Gods, and to Him do we return'² What can I say, and to whom can I confide these griefs, which assail me 129 incessantly and repeatedly? At all events we are awaiting our own death, and we have no respite but the favour of the bountiful God. My tongue is now ever chanting this prayer, O God have mercy upon us behold the sweat of our brows and the multitude of our groans! May the physician be disappointed of us and may our friends weep for us! O God, have mercy upon us when the earth surrounds us and our friends leave us! Scatter Thy favours among us and may the wind cease to blow upon us! I hope that our end will be good and that we shall preserve our faith unblemished. Since the bearer of this letter was in great haste to depart I have written it hurriedly at night and have not been able to explain one thousandth part of the desire which I have towards your service. You will be able to conceive it in your pure heart, for verily hearts have intercourse one with another. Salutations and honour be upon you and on him who is with you, both first and last both inwardly and outwardly.

XLIII SHAHIH ABD AL-KATHIR OF THANE SAR

He is one of the foremost² among the wise men of the age and one of the chief among profound and eminent scholars. He acquired a thorough knowledge of Islamic tradition under Sayyid Rafi'uddin the traditionist and his son dwelt for about fifty years in the quarter named after the above mentioned *Mir* in Agra, engaged in teaching those branches of knowledge which call for the exercise of the reasoning faculty as well as those which depend upon the memory. Many able and ready scholars have sat at his feet and have gone out into the world (with the fruits

¹ This footnote 1 of p. 48

² شاہیح ملک احمد بن علی بن احمد

of his teaching). Both I and Miyān Kamālu-d-dīn Ḫusain, just mentioned, shared the benefits of being taught by this great man. His most noble and orthodox son, Shaikh ‘Isā, is now, by the emperor's appointment, the authorized deliverer of *fatwās*¹ in Agra.

XLIV. MAULĀNĀ 'UŠMĀN OF BANGĀL.

130 He was an old Shaikh who took up his residence in Sambhal. Miyān Ḥātim of Sambhal² was his pupil, and used sometimes to visit him and request him to put up a *fatiḥah* on his behalf. On one occasion I, when I was in attendance on the late Miyān Ḥātim in my childhood, had the honour of waiting upon the Maulānā.

XLV. SHAIKH HUSAIN OF BAZHAR.³

He was one of the foremost among the distinguished men (of his day) and was employed in the instruction of students in the college of the imperial city of Dihlī. In those branches of knowledge which depend on the memory and which are usually studied in India, he was the most accomplished man of his time. He had a generous disposition.

XLVI. MAULĀNĀ ISMĀ'IL THE 'ARAB.⁴

He was one of the contemporaries and equals in age of Shaikh Husain. In knowledge of mathematics, philosophy, and medicine he was unequalled, and as a teacher he was associated with Shaikh Husain, and by the blessing of their noble companionship the doors of bounty were opened to students. The *Maulavī* was possessed of considerable wealth, and one night some thieves, instigated by the inhabitants of the city, broke into his house and murdered him.⁵

XLVII. QĀZĪ MUBĀRAK OF GOPĀMAU.⁶

He was a most learned man and performed the duties of his office of *Qāzī* with great integrity and honesty. He acquired his knowledge and good breeding from his teacher, Shaikh Nizāmu-d-

¹ i.e. *muftī*. ² *Vide p. 3.*

³ Or Bazahr. I have not been able to identify this place.

⁴ *Vide Āīn-i-Akkārī*, i, 538.

⁵ Literally, 'caused him to attain martyrdom.'

⁶ Then a *pargana* town in the Khairābād *sarkār* of the *śūba* of Awadh.

din of Ambethi¹ (may his tomb be sanctified!) and the *Shaykh* from the time when the *Miyān* first began to study in his hospice, had a special regard for him and bestowed care on his education, and whenever the *Qazi* used to make his request, saying, 'Why should not I too receive my share from the reservoir of your sanctity?' *Shaykh Nizamuddin* would always reply, 'Qazi Mubarak has devoured this world and gained (his reward in) the next.' The *Qazi* lived highly regarded, honoured, and respected 131 to the end of his life and thus too took his departure to the next world.

Among the sages and learned men who came and settled in Goparan for the purpose of studying under the *Qazi* (on him be God's mercy!), and there grew to manhood so that for the sake of profiting by their society men came from great distances and attained to perfection thereby, was the respected Budh, who used to give instruction in all the books commonly studied. Another was Sayyid Muhiyy of whom the same may be said, and there were others too in the same category. That caravan of sojourners has now reached its journey's end leaving no successive, and the mansions and abodes of learning have now been cleared of the tigers of the forest of knowledge so that those who, fox-like are ever ready to creep into an earth have taken their place. The author of the *Mashariq al-Anwar* too makes the same complaint of his own time, saying no sooner is the den clear of the lioness with two cubs than the ground given enters it in the morning.

Verse

This one small loaf² remains to poor Hasan,
I fear that day when not even this will be left

XLVIII MAULANA VAIS OF GWALIYAR

He was a learned man, argumentative and disputatious, and in his knowledge of first principles and deductions therefrom he had

¹ Vide p 27. Now a town in the District and tahsil of Hindoi in the U P, vide *Imp Gazetteer of India*, new series x, 830. For mention of Qazi Mubarak vide supra, p 31.

² A & b diminutive of *ab*

no equal in his time. The power of his memory¹ was such that in the midst of an argument when there was any necessity for an appeal to any authority, he would seem to recite from memory whole pages and would say, "This is what is written in such and such a book, look it up and see," and would thus confute his adversary, but afterwards, when the book was searched, no trace of the pretended quotation would be found. In this manner he one day confuted, in the imperial assembly, Maulānā Iliyās the astrologer, who had been the tutor of the Emperor Muḥammad Humāyūn, and had great skill and readiness in the preparation of astronomical tables, so that the Maulānā, disgusted with his opposition, set out from Court, and travelling through the *par-gana* of Mohān² in the *Sarkār* of Lakhnau, which was his *jāgīr*, he gave up his military appointment in the imperial service, and 132 proceeded in haste to Gñjarāt, and thence to Makkah the glorious, and thence went to the land of 'Irāq and Āzarbāijān, and Ardabil, which was his well-loved native land, and there he died. The story of his dealings with Shāh Ismā'il II is well known, and is briefly as follows: When Maulānā Iliyās arrived at Ardabil he wrote a letter to Shāh Ismā'il, who had been confined by Shāh Tahmāsp in the fortress of Qahqaha, saying, "From the aspects of the planets I have ascertained that in such a month you will obtain your freedom, and from the dungeon will attain to the highest rank, and will sit on the throne of the kingdom. Just as he had prophesied something was put into Shāh Tahmāsp's cup after a short space of time, and the affairs of Irāq fell into great confusion, and the *amīrs* and ministers of state summoned Shāh Ismā'il from his prison, by way of Ardabil, with a view of setting him on the throne. Now the *maulavī* had said in his letter, "On your way from Qahqaha, when you reach Ardabil it is necessary that you pay me a visit so that certain agreements and settlements may be made between us in your presence, and certain rites

¹ [sic] حافظ قوت. Bādāoni should have said, 'his power of invention.'

² Vide *Aīn-i-Akbarī*, ii, 179. Mohān is now a town in the *tahsīl* of the same name in the Unaو District of the U. P., vide *Imp. Gazetteer of India*, new series, xvii, 383.

of exorcism may be performed while we are face to face¹" It so happened that Shah Ismā'il was in great haste and did not visit the maulavi's house, but after leaving Ardabil he turned back and went to the maulavi's house with the object of waiting upon him. The maulavi shut the door of his mansion and refused to grant him an interview. After waiting a long time the king was compelled to break the door and, entering the maulavi's room by force, waited upon him, but the maulavi covered his face, and, turning round, sat facing the wall, and said, "The appointed hour passed, and you did not come, why should I now see your face?" Shah Ismā'il turned away disappointed, and although he became king, the nobles of the realm, a year after he had ascended the throne, conspired to prompt his sister, Parījan Khanum to attempt his life. He became cognizant of the plot, but before he could do anything to baffle it Parījan Khanum suffocated him and left his room, closing the door behind her on his corpse.

XLIX SHAikh MUHAMMAD OF SYRIA.²

He is a true³ 'Arab and is nephew to that Shaikh Zainuddin of Jabrūl-i-Amīl who was an ecclesiastical dignitary and religious guide among the Shī'ahs, and on whom the Sultan of Turkey after much finesse and many stratagems laid hands when he was in Makkah the glorious, and after summoning him to Constantinople, put him to death. Shaikh Muhammad is ranked among the *mawādīrs*, and is distinguished for his bravery and valour and noted for that generosity and liberality which are characteristic of the 'Arabs. He is also well known for his good breeding and courtesy and those branches of knowledge which are generally treated of in the Arabic language, and in the humanities generally his attainments are such that he may be called a second Kisa'.⁴ The following letter, which he wrote in Lāhōr in answer

¹ Shaikh Muhammad is not mentioned in the *Aja* as a *mawādīr*.

² ~~و~~. The expression may also mean 'a rough, or brutal, Arab' MS (A) has ~~و~~, wrongly.

³ A celebrated grammarian and reader of the Qur'an. Vide vol. 1, trans., Ranking, p. 30, note 1.

to one from me, in which I had been guilty of some insolence, when our friendship first began, is an example of his correspondence.

[Here follow five letters in Arabic, of which the Editor of the Text writes in a footnote, "Be it known that the whole of the text of these five letters, from beginning to end, is full of errors, and I have found it impossible, notwithstanding the utmost care, to correct it from the three manuscripts at my disposal." After a careful examination of the text in MSS. (A) and (B) I am compelled to agree with the Editor. Professor T. W. Arnold, who has kindly come to my assistance, agrees with me that the text is so corrupt that no satisfactory translation of these letters can be given. He also agrees, however, that the text, unsatisfactory as it is, is sufficient to indicate that the letters are not worth translating and consist, almost entirely, of long strings of bombastic and extravagant compliments. For this reason I have refrained from an attempt to reconstruct the text from other MSS.—T. W. H.]

136 L. SHAIKH ḤASAN 'ĀLĪ OF MAUSIL¹

He was the faithful pupil of Shāh Fathū-'llāh, but notwithstanding this he is an orthodox *Sunnī*. He entered the imperial service in the year in which Kābul was conquered, and was entrusted with the education of the emperor's eldest son until the young prince could repeat certain lessons from Persian and other treatises on philosophy. Shaikh Abū'l-Fazl also for some time secretly received instruction from him in the exact sciences, and in physics, and other branches of philosophy, but notwithstanding this he never attempted to advance the Shaikh's interests, so that while he himself has his place on the carpet in the imperial presence his master takes his stand on the bare floor. Shaikh Hasan 'Ālī, finding that the conduct of such men was not in accord with his religious views, gave up the allowance which he used to receive and went to Gujārāt, where he associated himself for a time with Mirzā Nizāmu-d-din Ahmad. The

¹ Mosul in the maps, on the Tigris, opposite to the site of Nineveh.

latter, and his son, Muhammad Sharif, received much profitable instruction from him in those branches of knowledge which exercise the reasoning faculty and in secular learning so much so indeed, that they advanced to perfection therein.

After the death of Shah Fathu'llah Shawkh Abu'l Lazl and other courtiers recounted a me of the *Shawkh's* accomplishments 137 and perfections in the imperial assembly, whereby the emperor was so impressed that Shukh Husin Ali is now (recognized as) the spiritual successor of Shah Fathu'llah. At that time an imperial order was issued summoning Shahzad Hasan 'Ali to the imperial presence, and he accordingly came to Lahor, but when he paid his respects at Court Nizamuddin Ahmad directed him to perform the *sydah* (instead of the *kirmish*),¹ which so displeased him that he made his release from the obligation of performing the ceremony & condition of his attendance and even in his house he could not bear (to witness at Court) so many things which were abominations to him and the elephant once more remembered Hindustan² and on the plea of an intention to visit his mother he obtained leave to go to his own country, and in the year A.D. 1589 (A.H. 998) he arrived at Thatta when the Khan-i-Qanan was governor of that province, and having attained to trust in God and contentment of heart he set out for his own country, and when he arrived at Hormuz he sent a message to the officers of the imperial court saying, "Praise be to God! I am freed from the hypocritical companionship of my friends' Please God he has attained the object of his desires."

LI Qazi Nurullah or Shushtar³

Although he is by religion a *Shtak*⁴ he is distinguished for his impartiality, justice, virtue, modesty, piety, continence, and such qualities as are possessed by noble men and is well known for his learning, clemency, quickness of understanding, singleness of

¹ Vide *Akbari Akbari*, i. 159.

² A proverb descriptive of home sickness.

³ More properly Shushtar. On the Kura river in Persia.

⁴ According to Mr. Blochmann (*Hist. Akbari*, i. 545) Qazi Nurullah

heart, clearness of perception, and acumen. He is the author of several able works, and he has written a monograph on the "undotted commentary"¹ of Shaikh Faizi which is beyond all praise. He also possesses the poetic faculty and writes impressive poetry. He was introduced to the emperor by the instrumentality of the physician Abū'l-Fath,² and when the victorious imperial army reached Lāhōr, and Shaikh Mu'in the *Qāzī* of Lāhōr, when he was paying his respects to the emperor, was afflicted suddenly in the presence chamber with the falling sickness, which came upon him in consequence of the feebleness of old age, and the failure of his natural powers, the emperor took pity on his weakness, and said, "The Shaikh is past his work,
 138 and we have therefore appointed *Qāzī* Nūru'llāh to the post which he held." In truth he has reduced the insolent *muftis* and the crafty and subtle *muhtasibs* of Lāhōr, who venture to give lessons to the teacher of the angels, to order, and has closed to them the avenues of bribery, and restrained them within due bounds as closely as a nut is enclosed in its shell, and to such a degree that stricter discipline could not be imagined. One might almost say that the author of the following verses had the *Qāzī* in his mind when he wrote them :—

"Thou art he who has never in all his life admitted
 Any statement by anybody in a law-suit, except the sworn
 testimony of a witness."

One day when he was in the house of Shaikh Faizi the Nishāpūri commentary was the subject of disension, and regarding the blessed verse :—"When he said to his companion, 'Be not cast down, verily God is with us,'"³—which verse is held, by the great majority of commentators, to refer to the greatest of

practised *taqīya*, or concealment of his religious views, among *Sunnis*, and was well acquainted with the system of jurisprudence of Abū Hanīfah. After Jahāngir's accession he was recalled from Lāhor. Once he offended the emperor by a hasty word, and was executed.

¹ The *Sādīc u-l-Iḥrār*, vide *Sīra-i-Ulām*, i, 549.

² Vide *infra*, c. iii, no. viii.

³ See alī et ḥāfiẓ yā ḥāfiẓ al-Qur'ān, ix, 39.

faithful witnesses of the truth (Abū Bakr)—may God be graciously pleased with him!—he said, “If the signification of the companionship referred to in the text be trifling and unimportant then the expression cannot be understood as conveying praise of anybody, but if it be said that the word is used in the conventional sense which has been attributed to it by traditionists, we come back to the question under debate, and I deny that there was any companionship (in that sense).”¹ I replied, ‘If a mere child even who knew the Arabic language were asked he would say that this verse clearly involves praise (of the person referred to therein) and not blame, and an African infidel, or a Jew, or a Hindu who knew Arabic, would give the same reply.’ There was much controversy on the subject, and Shāfi‘ī Faizi after his usual wise custom took the side of the *Qāfi*, though he actually had nothing whatever in common with either side. Suddenly a passage was turned up, in the *Nishāpūri* commentary itself, which supported my contention, and even went beyond it, saying that the verse, supposing that the prophet (may God bless and preserve him!) had at that moment been summoned to the immediate presence of God, would have been authority for

¹ The original is rather stilted, and is not easy to translate. The *Qāfi*, arguing as a *Shāfi‘ī*, contended that the word *Sahib* (“companion”) might be interpreted in two ways. It might be translated literally, without any ulterior signification, in which case its application to Abu Bakr could confer no honour upon him, for it would mean nothing more than that he chanced to be in the company of Muhammad. The other signification, the technical or conventional meaning referred to by the *Qāfi*, is the signification given by Sunni traditionists to the word *Sahib* when used in connection with the first three *Khalifahs*, Abu Bakr, ‘Umar, and ‘Uthmān. These three were, the traditionists argue, the chosen and constant companions of Muhammad, whose object in admitting them to this intimate companionship was to draw attention to the fact that they had been selected as his spiritual successors, and to qualify them for the posts they were to fill after his death. The *Qāfi* objects to the assumption that the word *Sahib* bears this conventional meaning, as a *petitio principii*. Badawī, as a Sunni, argues that whatever may be the precise signification of the word *Sahib* the verse confers honour on Abu Bakr, and contends that anybody acquainted with Arabic and ignorant of theology would at once see that it did so.

regarding Abū Bakr and no other as the successor nominated by the prophet himself.

39

LII. HĀJĪ IBRĀHĪM THE TRADITIONIST.

He lived in Āgra, leading an ascetic, abstemious, and pious life, and occupied in teaching divinity, and especially the traditions of the prophet. His strict observance of the holy law and his asceticism prevented him from mixing or associating with his fellow-men. He was in the habit of delivering authoritative commands and prohibitions in matters of faith. When, in obedience to a summons from Court, he attended the '*Ibādatkhāna*', he declined to observe the etiquette and ceremonies of the Court and used to preach and utter admonitions (without respect of persons). To Kh'āja 'Abdu-ṣ-Ṣamad of Šīrāz, who, by reason of his habit of letting out for hire old cotton cloth for decorations, is known as Kh'āja 'Abdu-'llāh,¹ and is much occupied with ceremonial prayers and fasts, and with supererogatory prayers and outward devotions, and had great faith in the Hājī, he used to say, "Kh'āja, all these observances will profit you nothing until you give a place in your heart to love for the orthodox successors of the prophet."

LIII. SHAIKH JALĀL-I-WĀSHI,² OF KĀLPĀ.³

He is one of the spiritual successors of Shaikh Muḥammad Ghaus.⁴ Early in his career he acquired perfection (in learning), but later he no longer allowed such matters to burden his memory and gave himself up wholly to the delight of listening to the chants of mystics, and to fits of religious ecstasy. His majesty the emperor has a very high opinion of him. On the whole there was less of striving after appearances among the spiritual successors of Shaikh Muḥammad Ghaus than among

¹ I do not understand the applicability of this nickname.

² وَاصِل. The word means 'united (with God).'

³ Then the chief town of the *Sarkār* of the same name in the *Šūba* of Agra. Now the chief town of a *tahsil* of the same name in the Jalān District of the U.P. *Vide Imp. Gazetteer of India*, new series, xiv, 318.

⁴ See p. 6.

those of Shaikh Salim,¹ though each sect decried and sought to ruin the other, and new the words of 'Ali, the leader of the faithful (may God be graciously pleased with him!), which he spoke on hearing the blessed verse, "The Jews say, 'the Christians are grounded on nothing,' and the Christians say, 'the Jews are grounded on nothing'²"³ are applicable to both parties. 'Ali said, on hearing this verse, "We believe it" Pruso be to God, no trace of either sect remains.

LIV MALIK MAHMUD I PIRĀR

140

He possessed such outward accomplishments as a knowledge of Arabic, Qu'anic commentaries, the traditions, and miscellaneous Persian compositions in prose and poetry, and was also adorned with spiritual perfection in such matters as devotion, piety, a mystic longing for union with God⁴ and religious ecstasy. He was descended from the *mulk* of the land of Gujarat, and his venerable father bore the name of Malik Pirān Malik Mahmud, owing to the elegance and copiousness of his discourse, his knowledge and his ingenuity, was accorded the great honour of conversing with the *Khilafah* of the age, in the heavenly assemblies held at Court, and ingratiated himself with his majesty, and owing to the great pleasure which he took in rendering any service to the godly, he was for some time favoured by being appointed to and associated with the glorious post of the trusteeship of the blessed tomb of that pole star of saints who have become united with God, Khaja Mu'inuddin Sanjari-yi-Caghi (may God sanctify his tomb!). But notwithstanding all the favour which the emperor bestowed upon him and the faith which he had in him, and his nearness to the emperor's person, owing to the all mastering love and overpowering desire and the strength of the mystic bonds by which he was bound to that pole star of the heaven of chieftainship and centre of the circle of happiness the lord Shah-i-Alam of Bukhara one of the sons of

¹ See p. 18

وَقَالَتِ الْيَهُودُ لَيْسَ الْمُصْرِى عَلَى شَيْءٍ وَمَا لَكُمْ أَنْ تَصْرِفُ عَلَى لَيْسَ الْيَهُودَ عَلَى شَيْءٍ

³ See p. 11, note 4

Makhdūm-i-Jahānīān of *Bukhārā*¹ (may God sanctify his honoured tomb !), him who was the beloved of the possessors of true knowledge, and who was sought after by travellers in the right path, Malik Maḥmūd exerted all the influence and employed all the interest which he possessed in preferring his request that he might be permitted to depart from Court and undertake the guardianship of the holy man's tomb, employing himself in the circumambulation of its threshold, the dwelling-place of angels, and urged his request with an utter disregard of the emperor's wishes. Since he was thoroughly sincere in his intention and design, and was altogether free from any suspicion of hypocrisy or worldly designs, his prayer was naturally granted, but after much discussion and debate, and he retired to the corner of contentment and resignation, passing most of his blessed time in Ahmadābād in the service of that shrine until he departed from its parterres to those of the abode of peace.

141 The author had the honour of being admitted to his joy-diffusing presence in Fathpūr and Ajmir.

The following opening couplet of a *qasīdāh* is by the *Malik* :—

"I have an ever-veering heart which nevertheless I call my
qibla-numā,²

Whithersoever I turn it, it still turns towards His eye-brow."

LV. SADR-I-JAHĀN,³ OF PIHĀNĪ.

Pihānī is a village in the district of Qannauj.⁴ Sadr-i-Jahān

¹ See vol. i, trans. Rankiug, p. 376.

² That which points to the *qibla*, or the direction in which to pray.

³ See *Aīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 468. *Sadr-i-Jahān* was both the Mīrān's personal name and the name of the office to which he was appointed in the 34th year. He was one of the signatories to the deed which acknowledged Akbar's spiritual supremacy as well as his temporal supremacy. His position with regard to the 'divine faith' is not clear, but he evidently temporized. During the reign of Jahāngīr, who was very fond of him, he was promoted to a command of four thousand, and received Qannauj as *tuyūl*. He died in A.D. 1611 at the age, it is believed, of 120 years. See also vol. ii, text, *passim*.

⁴ According to the *Ma'āṣiru-l-Umarā* Pihānī is near Lakhnau, but from

is a learned *Sayyid* of a happy disposition most of whose life has been passed in the camp. He acquired his great learning under the tuition of Shaikh 'Abdu 'n Nabi¹ and it was in consequence of the Shaikh's exertions that he was appointed chief mufti of the empire, a post which he held for several years. After the religious leaders of India had fallen into disgrace, his habits of submission to authority and his tame serving and worldly disposition led him to regard before everything the honour and esteem which he enjoyed in the world. He accompanied the physician Humam² on his embassy to the ruler of Turan³ and when he returned thence he was honoured by being appointed *Sadr* of the empire. At the time when it was noised abroad in Lahore that those who remained of the *Ulama* were to be banished to Makkah the glorious and a list of them had been prepared, the *Sadr-i-Jahan* said one day I fear lest I may have been included in this class. Muza Nizamu d din Ahmad who had prepared the list said, Why should you be sent to Makkah? The *Sadr-i-Jihān* asked the Muza why he needed to ask the question and the Mirza replied You have never given utterance to God's words that you should be worthy of this banishment.

The *Sadr-i-Jahan*, notwithstanding his poetic gifts and his great aptitude for writing poetry now repents of his former devotion to the art. The following opening couplet of a *qawwādah* is by him —

the fact that *Sadr-i-Jahan* received Qannauj as *iżlī* in Jahangir's reign it would appear that Badaoni is right

¹ *Vide supra* no x

² *Vide infra* Chap. ii no x

³ The object of this embassy was to answer a letter which Abdu'llah Khan Uzbak had written to Akbar questioning him regarding his apostasy from Islam. The answer which they took to Abdu'llah contained the following Arabic verses —

بِيْلَ اَنَ الْاَنَدُ دُوْ دَلَه	وَلَهُ اَنَ لَسَانُ الرَّوْزِيِّ دَكِيْفَ اَنَا
----------------------------------	---

' Of God it has been said that He had a Son of the prophet it has been said that he was a sorcerer Neither God nor the prophet has escaped the slander of men,—then how should I? '

"May each hair of my beloved's locks,
O God, become an affliction,
And may my heart be afflicted with each one of those
afflictions!"

I pray that, if it please God, he may be given grace to repent of foolish disputations on points of secular knowledge, of hypocrisy, ostentation, self-esteem, and extravagant boasting, which he must have learnt from one possessed of a devil, just as he has repented of writing poetry.

LVI. SHAIKH YA'QŪB OF KASHMIR.¹

He assumed as a poet the *nom-de-plume* of *Sarfi*, and in him were displayed both the accomplishments of learning and the perfect qualities which distinguish a pious man. He was the spiritual successor of the great master Shaikh Ḥusain of Khārazm (may God sanctify his tomb!), and acquired honour by performing the pilgrimage to the two most excellent holy places. He received from Shaikh Ibn-u Ḥajar a licence to give instruction in the traditions of Muhammad, and clad in the robes of a Shaikh he travelled much and visited most of the Shaikhs of Arabia and Persia, and profited much by his intercourse with them, and received authority to assume the prerogatives of a religious teacher and spiritual guide, and as such he had many disciples, both in Hindūstān and Kashmīr. He was the superior of an hospice. He was the author of some sublime and beautiful works, and completed a *Khamsah*,¹ and wrote many treatises on the art of composing enigmas, and also quatrains on the mysticism of the *Sūfis*, with a commentary. His works, indeed, are too numerous to be recapitulated, and had it not been necessary that some slight mention should be made of his *Sūfi*-ism, and his mystic longing for God, even these few works could not have been noticed. He was illustrious and much relied upon as an authority in all branches of learning which are treated of in Arabic, such as Quranic commentaries, the traditions of Muhammad, and *Sūfi*-ism, and he was an authorized religious leader.

¹ A series of five *magnavīs*, in imitation of the *Khamsah* of Nīzāmī.

Latterly, not long before his death, he was writing a commentary which was one of the most wonderful productions of his perfect genius. Both the late emperor and his present majesty had a wonderful belief in him and conferred distinction on him by admitting him to the honour of their society, regarding him with gracious favour, so that he was held in high estimation and much honoured. He was generous and open-handed beyond anything that can be imagined of his contemporaries.

Although his poetry was very poor, in accordance with the verse.—“Poetry does not become the learned,” he used nevertheless, continually to exercise his intellect in this direction. These following few couplets are by him —

Couplets¹

“I see that comely face manifest in whatever I regard, 143
 “Though I look at a hundred thousand mirrors in all that
 one face is manifest
 “On all sides people are wandering in search of the Friend,
 “And the strange thing is that the Friend is manifest on
 every side”

Other couplets by the Shaikh are these —

“Thy mole lurks near the corner of thine eyehrow to
 decisive,
 “Wherever a recluse, lurking in a corner, is to be found,
 deceit is in him”
 “Break not my heart, Oh grief! and regard not whoso that
 heart may be,
 “The heart is indeed mine, but consider who dwelleth
 there.”
 “If thou sayest to him, “It behoves that Thy foot pass
 over my head,”
 “(Remember that) thou shouldst at once forsake all thought
 of self”

This enigma on the names of Shandā is also by the Shaikh.—

¹ The following verses are all mystical

" My moon hath cast the veil from off her face,

" See, how she hath of set purpose turned day into night!"

At the time when he obtained permission to depart from Lāhor to his dearly loved native land, he wrote to me from the far side of the river Rāvī a letter, which I copy here as a fortunate relic.

" My helper and my mighty one! After laying before you the prayers and supplications of true friendship, I represent to your mind, brilliant as the sun, that the cause of your neglecting to observe, in respect of your sincere and true friend, one most excellent institution was probably the fact that, though the approved custom of travelling with a friend for a part of his journey is one of the requirements of the observance of setting

144 him on his way, you were not able at the present time to perform this office and therefore could not help but leave it undone. I hope, however, that you will not entirely efface the memory of me from the margin of your bounteous heart, and that you will adopt the graceful habit of remembering the absent. If you should have any need of Kashmīr paper for rough notes and drafts I hope that you will inform me of the fact, so that I may send you from Kashmīr the rough copy of my commentaries, the writing of which can be washed from the paper with water so completely that no trace of the ink will remain, as you yourself have seen. And now peace be with you and grace be upon you."

When he reached Kashmīr he sent me from there another letter, which was the last he wrote. I copy it here.

" In the presence of the bounteous Shaikh 'Abdu-l-Qādir, him who is removed beyond the need of praise, recommendation, or encomium, that is to say our lord and leader in learning, may this letter be opened.

Without a doubt Badāoni excels Dawwānī¹

In all branches of learning,

¹ Muhaqqiq-i-Dawwānī, the famous logician. His name in Persian script is دواني, while Badāoni is باداني, which Shaikh Ya'qūb would, for the purposes of this conceit, metamorphose into بدواني by the transposition of two letters, thus converting it into Dawwānī with the addition of one letter (ب). The play upon the two names is somewhat clumsy.

Thus a proof of the superabundance of the signification of his name

Is that its very beginning appears to be redundant

As to the suppliant letters which from time to time I send to you, although owing to them not being worthy of an answer I do not trouble your wonder describing pen to write one, nevertheless the pen of sincere friendship cannot be restrained from running on in (its desire of) setting forth my submission to you I hope that whenever you sit in the Nawab Fazl Fayyazi's¹ apartment of fragrant grass,² on the floor with its matting cooler than the breezes of Kashmir, in the midday heat of summer,³ drinking the water which though warm, has been cooled with ice and listening to sublime talk and witty conversation you will think on me the captive of the hindships of disappointment

Couplet

"Ah! ye who meet in the cheerful assembly of union extend a helping hand to the absent

'For the hand of those who thus meet is never withheld from the absent

"I pray you to accept, on behalf of your most honoured, most orthodox, and most glorious son, Shaikh Muhiyyu-d din Muhammad, my humble submission. May God, the most Holy and most High, assist him in the acquirement of all knowledge, both secular and spiritual, by the honour of him⁴ who was named with the name of his sublime title (may his pure tomb be hallowed!)

It is probable that, owing to your claims as a neighbour to confidence, you may have heard what that resort of chieftainship

¹ The text has Fayyazi only MS (A) which I follow but Fazl Fayyazi

² دلساں, a house of Khas. Khas is a fragrant grass (an *hapax*; *suricatum*) See vol 1 trans. Rawling, 411, note 1

³ سوئ, the Syrian month corresponding with July. The word is omitted from MS (B)

⁴ i.e. the prophet Muhammad from whom Badoni's son had one of his names

Mirān Sayyid Qutbu-d-din, had to say with regard to his failure to answer my humble letter to him, but it behoves you rather to regard my essential claims upon you, for these claims are clearly to be preferred to the claim of mere neighbourhood ; and likewise you should not place too much confidence in the display of affection which the worshipful Mirān makes, for in the end it has no stability. God the most High knows the truth !

I have lost the rough copy of the verses which I wrote in the new Aṣafkhānī style, explaining what had not previously been clearly expressed. It is possible that you, my honoured friend, may have taken a copy from my rough draft, and, if so, I pray you to send me a copy of your copy. If you answer this letter it will be well. (I call to mind) God !”

Verses by the Author.¹

“ O thou, at the thought of whose face intimacy comes back to me,
 My desire cannot be borne on paper,
 As the lofty mountain cannot be weighed in a balance,
 And as the ocean cannot be measured by a water-gauge.

Why should I sing your praises ? They are far beyond the pretensions of the bald style and the impotent rhetoric of me, ‘Abdu-l-Qādir ; and any attempt to comprise them therein would resemble the endeavour to imprison the sea in a jug.”

Poetry.

“ And what shall I say of my blessings on you ?
 No bird of devotion flies from me to the lotus-tree of Paradise,
 For no bird bears in his beak a list of my blessings on thee.
 Why should I say anything of my desire of seeing you again ?

Quatrain.

O thou whose hand has been held in my two hands,
 Who hast hindered me from the enjoyment of health,

¹ These verses begin a letter from Badāoni to Shaikh Ya‘qūb.

It is impossible, that I should record my desire towards thee, 146
 The streeg desire that I have towards thee

Since the time when you saw fit to take your departure hence to the land where you now dwell, the interpreter of divine secrets, by which expression may be understood the root of the elements of true knowledge, gladdened me by coming to me repeatedly, both for a few days before and a few days after the festival of the new year, conveying to me the truth contained in the following couplet from the *Ten Sayings of Good Tidings* !—

Couplet.

'This day a tall and comely man, in his own city,
 Sits with his bride, rejoicing in his good fortune'

You wrote with that pen which cherishes the poor and distils must,

"Without a doubt Badāoni, excels Dawwāni," etc

I reply to those verses in the following *magnavi* —

O thou whose tongue is the key of the Hidden Book,
 Whose pure heart is an outcome of the Infallible,
 Thy pen hath displayed miracles
 The hidden treasures of "Be, and it was"
 Then saidst, with a logic which nourishes the intelligences,
 "Badāoni is more pleasant than Dawwāni"
 Whether it be of Dawwāni or of Badāoni (that thou speakest),
 Both subjects receive all their wealth from the treasure house of thy grace
 My heart has become the mirror of thy beauty,
 The place where thy never failing bounty is displayed
 What wonder then if, in regarding it truly,
 Thou shouldst see thyself there?

If these verses be mere ostentation then let this much suffice
 Who am I that I should presume in answering you? I have had

¹ I have not been able to find any mention of this work elsewhere

² کن دیکوون, i.e. 'creation' ³ *Vide supra*, p 202 note 1

recourse to poetry, wherein I have loosed the tongue of depreciation, seeking forgiveness, and asking pardon for my remissness in observing the custom of writing friendly letters, a custom which is contrary to the habit and wont of the vulgar, nay, may rather be described as one of the peculiar characteristics of those who are raised above the common herd, as you yourself know well, and, regarding this letter as atonement for my fault, I count it full satisfaction of all that is past.

147 As for what you wrote regarding the air of the apartment of fragrant grass, and the iced water, it brought to my mind the following verse :—

“ Of life (is left) but that which is ice in summer heat.”

And reminded me of the saying, “ O company of Muslims, have pity upon him whose stock-in-trade has declined,” for it is some days since I have enjoyed that cool air and that iced water.

“ The wolf’s mouth is bloody, but he has not torn Yūsuf,”¹

Verse.

“ Let him who imagines that love is an easy matter come,
and look upon my face, and from its haggardness he
will understand that lovē is a hard matter.”

His Majesty, who is near the sun in excellence, has, for some reason, and without the intervention of any person whatsoever, taken the name of me, the humblest of his slaves, on his blessed tongue, expressing some intention of bestowing on me the trusteeship of (the shrine in) the exalted region of Ajmer.

Verse.

Those tents have vanished from the sight of me, the watcher,
Peace be on the dwellers therein, is the wish which I would
have conveyed.

¹ i.e. ‘ I have not done as you suppose, though appearances may be against me.’ The reference is to the story of Joseph. According to the Qur’ān (chap. xii) the sons of Jacob told their father that a wolf had devoured Joseph. In the Old Testament version of the story (Gen. xxxvii. 20, 33) the brethren merely led their father to suppose that an evil beast (‘ fera pessima ’) had devoured him,

Nevertheless I have not yet been installed in the office,¹ and it is my earnest desire that the effects of this good fortune may soon emerge from the region of probabilities into that of accomplished facts. Then my heart will be independent of the water of the whirlpools of daily life and the unwholesome air of every country, and the coolness of pure truth will become my portion, so that the rubbish-heap of the world will appear to me to be no more than rubbish, and the red water of the times a mere mirage. My wretched lot impels me to be chafing over this mournful refrain —

Wonder of wonders that your heart is not disgusted and
your soul is not sick

With the putrid odours which arise from these unwholesome waters'

The ambition and object of me, your well-wisher, is that you will strive to help me in all matters worldly and spiritual, so that when I go to Ajmer² I may remember that the name of the place rhymes with Kashmīr inasmuch as each delightful place 148 is the pivot of one of the two axes or rather the two ex tremities, north and south, of the same axis, which extends in either direction "A delectable city, and a forgiving God!"

Just as you, in Kashmīr, will be drinking the ice water³ of the fount Jhalara,⁴ so shall I be moistening my tongue with the limpid water of thanks and praise to the Giver of all good things, both spiritual and bodily

Verse

To the bounteous may their bounty be pleasant
And to the poor lover that which he sips

A counterpart of my present condition would be the revealing of that which has been disclosed to the inspired. Your servant's

¹ Badaoni was disappointed of this office which would have suited him very well. See vol II, text, pp 400, 401. The shrine was that of Khaja Mu'inuddin Chishti.

² Ajmer is now usually spelt Ajmer

³ حوض حنفی according to both MSS. The text has, wrongly, حوض حنفی

⁴ I have not been able to find mention of this fountain elsewhere

son has gone to Badāon, where he is employed in putting up prayers for you. May your sublime shadow never grow less!

Written in the month of Ramazān the blessed, dispensing blessings, in the year H. 1003 (May-June, 1595)."

The following ode is one of the productions of the Shaikh's pearl-scattering and jewel-dispersing pen, which he wrote to me during one of his travels.

Ode.

"At the moment when I was writing this letter,
My tears were flowing, mingled with blood,
All the writing which was set forth by my pen,
The letter of my longing for you, has been blotted out from my heart.

The bitterness of separation is medicine.

Sarfi, so great is the flood of my tears that the nine oceans to me

Seem but as the dropping of rain."

To be brief I may say that one so feeble and so devoid of the graces of speech as I have not the power to recount fully the excellent qualities and perfection of the noble Shaikh. The noble works which he has left behind him, and which have, as one may say, put a girdle round the day of resurrection, are a sufficient witness to what he was. On the 18th of Zi-qādah, in the year H. 1003 (July 25, 1595) the bird of his soul, whose nest was holiness, escaping from the cage of this world of confinement, flew to that of liberation, and the words "He was the Shaikh of nations" were found to give the date of his death.¹

Verse.

Peace be to the world, for pleasant are its blessings.

148 As though Yūsuf were sitting in it.

Verses.

Seek not in this waste spot the road to the treasure-house of your desire,

شیخ اسم بود ١, giving the date 1003.

For this ruined abode is sought but the place of toil and
grief

Fate has laid, at every step herein, a snare of calamity,
Who is there that has set his foot in this region of snakes
who has not also left his head here?

The vanished heart of the rose has left behind it a word of
hope,

But what can that profit us who are unable to read?¹

The days of man's life are exceeding short. Be not deceived
For no sooner have you drawn a breath than you give your
life to the wind

LVII MAULĀYĀ MIRZĀ OF SAMĀQĀVĀ

He was an angel in the form of a man, who had acquired honour by performing the pilgrimage to the two holy places, (may God increase their honour!) During the regency of Bahram Khān, the Khan-i-Khanan, he dwelt in Āgra, where the people profited much by his precious utterances Under the tuition of the Maulānā, who was one of the best men of his time I studied a portion of the Shamsiyyah,² commentary on logic, the work of Amir Sayyid Muhammad, who was the most noble and most orthodox son and successor of the holy Amir Sayyid 'Alī of Hamadān, by the blessing of whose holy foot-steps, which were inseparably connected with the spiritual instruction of the people, the faith of Islām was first promulgated and preached in the land of Kashmīr. And besides this commentary on logic I read other brief works with the Maulānā From his blessed tongue I heard the following saying of the prophet, which has the very highest authority "The prophet (may God bless and assail him!) said, 'He who sees a stranger (with his wife) may slay him, his blood is lawful (to him)," and from him also I

¹ There is paucity on the word *slym* here, which cannot be reproduced in English.

² See vol. 1, trans., Ranking, p. 427 and note 1 Badāoni's attribution of this work does not, however, agree with that there mentioned.

received authority to propound and expound this tradition, he having received it through only six intermediaries from 150 that holy one who was the seal of prophecy (on him and on his family be blessings without end !) The authenticity of the tradition of this saying is related in detail in the *Najātū-r-Rashīd*.¹

The *Maulānā*, at the time of the *Khān-i-Zamān*'s rebellion, came from Agra to Dillī, further than which place I have not been able to trace him, so that I do not know the (latter) circumstances of his auspicious life.

LVIII. QĀZĪ ABŪ-'L-MĀ'ĀLĪ.²

He is the disciple, the spiritual successor, and also the son-in-law of the Governor³ of *Bukhārā* (may his honoured tomb be sanctified!). The venerable Governor was so learned in law and divinity that if we may suppose that all the books on the theology of the *Hanafi*⁴ school had disappeared from the world, he would have been able to write them afresh. It was on his account that 'Abdu'-llāh Khān,⁵ the king of Tūrān, put a stop to the study of logic and dialectics in his dominions, and expelled Mullā Isāmu-d-dīn of Isfārāin with his vile pupils from Transoxiana. The circumstances were as follows: After the study of logic and dialectics had gained ground in *Bukhārā* and Samarqand vile and wicked students, whenever they met a pious and simple-minded man, used to say, "This fellow is an ass—he will deny the proposition that he is an animal,"⁶ and, since

¹ By Badāoni. See vol. i, trans., Ranking, p. 511, note 2, and p. 609, note 3.

² See vol. ii, text, p. 49.

³ عزیزان, honorific plural of عزیز, most commonly used in this sense with regard to Joseph (عزیز مصر), Governor of Egypt.

⁴ The school of Abū Ḥanīfah, one of the four great *Sunnī* doctors of the law.

⁵ 'Abdu'llāh Khān Uzbak, King of Transoxiana.

⁶ This appears to be the author's meaning, though the literal translation is 'he denies the proposition لا حيوان ('no animal').' My late friend Shamsu-l-'Ulamā Shaikh Maḥmūd-i-Gilānī informed me that the passage

rejection of a general proposition necessarily involves the rejection of particular propositions dependent on it, he necessarily denies also his humanity". When fallacies of this nature were frequently repeated and spread abroad the Governor wrote a treatise on divinity, inciting and urging 'Abdu'llah Khan to banish this school, and adducing clear proofs of the unlawfulness of teaching and studying logic and philosophy. He also recorded his opinion that there was no harm in using as a torcherul paper on which logical exercises had been written, and wrote much more to the same purport.

The Qazi always performed the *sikr-i arra*¹ after his prayers with his companions, and used to enroll disciples.

In the year H. 969 (A.D. 1561-62) he came to Agra, and I as a 151 means of attaining good fortune and blessing, read some lessons with him in the beginning of the *Shark-i-Wiqayah* and in truth, so far as that subject was concerned I found him to be a boundless sea of learning.

LIX MAULANA MIR I KATAN²

He was the grandson of Mulla Kh'aja, one of the greatest of related to a childish trick which the budding logicians of Transoxiana probably believed to be clever. لجھ means 'an animal' and is usually and vulgarly used in the sense of 'beast' or 'brute'. The trick was to apply the term, in its approbrious sense, to some simpleton as one might call another in English 'a wretched animal,' thereby inducing him to deny that he was an animal, and then, referring to the more general and scientific meaning of the word, to turn on him and say, 'since you are no animal you are no man, for man is an animal.' It seems strange that this stupid horx should have seriously annoyed learned men but it must be remembered that Badshah's learned men were theologians pure and simple, who regarded logic as 'carnal learning' trivial if not absolutely harmful, and would be ready to use any pretext for the purpose of harassing both its professors and its students.

¹ سکر، a religious exercise of the *Sufis*. The late Shamsul Ulama Shaikh Mahmud-i Gilani informed me that he was not aware in what it consisted, but believed that it consisted in reciting the word *Allah* on a prolonged note and in a guttural tone. [170]

² He was the first teacher of Sultan Salim (Jahangir). See vol. II text

receiving many substantial marks of the imperial favour he set out, by way of Gujarāt, on a pilgrimage to the two holy places, Makkah and Madīnah, whence he proceeded to Turkey, where he was presented to the Sultān of Turkey, and in that country received ten times more honour and attention than he had received in India, so that even the office of grand *vazīr* of the empire was offered to him. This office he declined, and returned to Transoxiana, where he died. I never had the honour of paying my respects either to Hāfiẓ-i-Kūmaki or to Maulānā Sa‘id.

LXII. QĀZĪ NIẒĀM OF BADAKHSHĀN.¹

He received the title of Qāzī Khān, and was a native of Badakhshān, where his home was situated near a ruby-mine. In such branches of knowledge as are acquired by study he was the pupil of Maulānā ‘Isāmu-d-din Ibrāhīm, and also studied under Mullā Sa‘id. He had a great taste for and proficiency in Sūfi-istic studies, and in these, the way of truth, he was the disciple of the greatest of leaders, Shaikh Husain of Khārazm. In consequence of his close adherence to the esoteric school he has also acquired much respect among men of the world, and in Badakhshān was one of the nobles of the State. When he came to India he obtained unbounded honour, receiving first the title of Qāzī Khān, and afterwards that of Ghāzī Khān. He was eloquent and his delivery was pleasing. He was the author of some standard works, among which was a treatise on the proof of the word (of God) and an account of the religion of truth and verity. He also wrote marginal notes on the commentary on the dogmas of the faith, and numerous treatises on *Sūfi*-ism. He passed away to the presence of God's mercy at the age of seventy in the year H. 992 (A.D. 1584) in Awadh. He was the first person to suggest the performance of the ceremony of prostration² before

¹ For a full account of Qāzī Niẓām, or Ghāzī Khān, who was a commander of nine hundred, see *Aīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 440. He first received the title of Qāzī Khān from Sulaimān, King of Badakhshān. This title seems to have been confirmed or recognized on, or shortly after, his arrival in India, and he afterwards received the title of Ghāzī Khān.

² See *Aīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 159. This invention flattered the vanity of Akbar

the emperor Mulla 'Alim of Kabul used to say regretfully,
 ' Alas that I was not the inventor of this ordinance !'

LXIII MAULANA ILAHDAD I LANGARHANI

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He comes from a quarter in Lahore. He is well versed in all such branches of knowledge as are included in the ordinary curriculum, and is a profound scholar. He rules his life in accordance with the holy law and is a saintly and most pious and religious. He employs his time in teaching. He has never visited the houses of worldly and unpolished men and has never asked assistance from the great ones of the earth nor accepted the usual subsistence allowance made to religious teachers. He is nearly eighty years of age.

LXIV MAULANA MUHAMMAD THE MUFTI¹

He is one of the most respected teachers of Lahore. He is endowed with many perfect qualities and is employed as Mufti. On each occasion on which he completes the perusal of the *Sahihul Bukhari*² or the *Mighlīt*³ he gives a great entertainment regaling his guests with *bugh*, *khanīs*⁴ and sweetmeats. His assembly is the meeting place of the most learned men. The Maulana, now that he has reached the age of ninety years, and is bent and feeble, has given up teaching. He has four or five orthodox sons, all of whom are in learning and accomplishments worthy successors of their father.

more probably, than any innovation introduced in his reign and the inventor was proportionately rewarded. Hence the regretful ejaculation of Mulla 'Alim

¹ See *Ain-i Akbari* i. 541

² A collection of authentic traditions in which an account of Imam *Bukhari* is given. See vol. i trans. Ruyking 6 and note 3.

³ *Mighlātul Masābih* a celebrated collection of Traditions. See vol. i trans. Ruyking, 58, note 3 *et passim*.

⁴ A dish invented by *Buglra Khan* King of *Khwarazm*. It consists of quadrangular sections of paste dressed with gravy or milk.

LXV. MĪR FATHŪ-'LLĀH OF SHIRĀZ.¹

He was one of the *Sayyids* of Shirāz and the most learned of the learned men of his time. He was for a long time the spiritual guide of the rulers and nobles of Fārs. He was thoroughly versed in all those sciences which demand the exercise of the reasoning faculty, such as philosophy, astronomy, geometry, astrology, geomancy, arithmetic, the preparation of talismans, incantations, and mechanics, and in this department of learning he was such an adept that he was able to draw up an astronomical table as soon as the emperor demanded one from him. He was equally learned in Arabic, traditions, interpretation of the *Qur'ān* and rhetoric, and was the author of some excellent works, which were not, however, equal to those of

155 Maulānā Mirzā Jān of Shirāz, who was a teacher in Transoxiana, an abstemious recluse, and was unique among the learned men of the age. Mīr Fathū-'llāh, although he was polite, courteous, and well-conducted in society, seemed to be unable, as soon as he began to teach, to address his pupils otherwise than with abuse, insinuation, and sarcasm (God save us from the [like !]). For this reason very few ever became his pupils, and he has not left behind him one worthy disciple. He was for some years in the Dakan, and 'Adil Khān,² the ruler of that country, had a great regard for him. When he entered the imperial service he received the title of 'Azdu-l-Mulk.³ He died in Kashmīr in the year H. 997 (A.D. 1588-89) and is buried in the place known as Takht-i-Sulaimān.⁴ The words, "He was an angel,"⁵ were found to give the date of his death.

¹ See vol. ii, text, and *Aīn-i-Akbarī*, i, *passim*. Fathū-'llāh was Sadr-i-Jahān Şadru-s-Şudūr for four years, from A.H. 993 (A.D. 1585) to A.H. 997 (A.D. 1588-89), but had very little power with regard to endowments, the chief source of the income brought by the appointment.

² 'Alī 'Adil Şāh I (1557—1580), fifth King of the 'Adil Şāhī dynasty of Bijāpōr.

³ 'Azdu-d-daulah, vol. ii, text, p. 343, and *Aīn-Akbarī*, i, *passim*.

⁴ The hills above Srinagar.

⁵ بود نمیشود, giving the date 997.

LXVI SHAIKH MANSUR OF LĀHŌR

He is one of the disciples of Shaikh Ishraq-i-Raku,¹ and acquired most of his learning under Maulana Si'du 'llah,² with whom he was connected by marriage. He is a learned and able man and is proficient in all such philosophical learning as is usually studied in India. He has a pleasant disposition and a sound understanding, which enables him readily to grasp a subject. He associates much with the nobles and chief men of the State and is resorted to by them. For some time he held the post of chief *Qāzī* of Mālwa, and when the emperor set up his court at Lahōr, he left Mālwa and paid his respects at Court. He is now employed in the administration of the *pargana* of Bajwara,³ and the submontane districts. His son Mulla 'Ala'u-d-din was one of the most famous of the learned men employed in teaching, and was for some time among the companions of the *Khan-i-Khanan*, by whom he was highly regarded and much honoured. When he entered the imperial service he also received much honour, and though much pressed and urged to enter the 156 military service he declined to do so, and employed himself in teaching, spending whatever he received from his *jagir* on the students whom he taught. Of all the *Mullas* in India, after Pir Muhammad Khān, there was nobody so famous as Mulla 'Ala'u-d-din and Mulla Nur Muhammad Tarkhan for generosity, liberality, and open-handedness. Mulla 'Ala'u-d-din has written well known marginal notes on the *Sharh 'Aqa'id*.⁴ He attained to the honour of performing the pilgrimage of the *Hajj* and is buried in the holy land of pilgrimage. I never met him.

LXVII MULLĀ PIR MUHAMMAD OF SHIRVAN⁵

He was a *Mulla* of good understanding and great penetration,

¹ See p. 85

² The grammarian, he also was one of the pupils of Shaikh Ishraq.

³ From the mention of the submontane districts it is clear that this *pargana* was the Bajwara in the Bet Jalandhar Duab Sarker of the Suba of Lahore.

⁴ I have not been able to identify this work.

⁵ For an account of Mulla Pir Muhammad Khan of Shirwan, see *Ain-i-*

and gathered round him a cheerful company. Notwithstanding this he was hard-hearted man, and took no heed to do that which was lawful or avoid that which was unlawful. He came from Shīrvān and entered the service of the Khān-i-Khānān, Bairam Khān, in Qandahār, and received advancement. After the reconquest of Hindūstān he received the title of Khān, and afterwards that of Nāshiru-l-Mulk, and lived for three or four years in the greatest honour and consideration, but since the days of the wicked are few, he was shortly afterwards drowned¹ in the river Narbada in Mālwa, and joined Pharaoh in the Nile of hell. His death has been recorded in the history of the reign. I saw him from afar, but, thank God, I never associated with him.

LXVIII. MĪRZĀ MUFLIS THE ŪZBAK.²

He was one of the disciples of Mullā Ahmād-i-Jand.³ He was an able *Mullā*, and quick and ready in controversy, but was not eloquent, and when engaged in teaching behaved grotesquely. His figure was ungainly. He spent his time in religious retirement. He came from Transoxiana to India, and taught for four 157 years in the *jāmi'* *masjid* of Kh'āja Mu'inu-d-din-i-Farankhūdī⁴ in Āgra. By the grace of God he was enabled to perform the pilgrimage to the two holy places, and in Makkah the glorious he departed this life, dying at the age of seventy.

LXIX. MAULĀNĀ NŪRU-D-DĪN MUHAMMAD TARKHĀN.⁵

He had a comprehensive knowledge of philosophy and rhetoric, *Akbarī*, i, 324. He was a man of overbearing and brutal disposition, who delighted in cruelty for its own sake. For his treatment of Burj 'Alī, a messenger from the Khān-i-Zamān, see vol. ii, text, p. 23; for his treatment of Bairam Khān, his patron, *ibid.* p. 27, for his punishment, *ibid.* pp. 27-29; and for his revenge, *ibid.* p. 39. His brutality in Mālwa is described, *ibid.* pp. 47, 48.

¹ As he was trying to swim the river after his defeat by Bāz Bahādūr in 1562. See vol. ii, text, pp. 50, 51.

² See vol. ii, text, p. 187, and *Āin-i-Akbarī*, i, 541.

³ *Vide supra*, p. 213, n. 1.

⁴ See *Āin-i-Akbarī*, i, 434.

⁵ According to the *Tabaqāt* he was a good mathematician and astrono-

and was a man of pleasant disposition and a poet. Towards the end of his life he repented of and gave up poetry. He was appointed to the trusteeship of the mausoleum of his late majesty, the emperor Humayun, and died in Delhi.

LXX MAULĀNĀ ILAHIDĀD OF AMRŌHA¹

He was an able *Mulla*, of a pleasant disposition, unaffected, a good conversationalist, a charming associate and a boon companion, ever ready with a pleasant jest. He attracted many to his society and delighted all who associated with him. He obtained an appointment in the military service of the empire which enabled him to live contentedly. He was much attached to me throughout his life. In the year H 990 (A.D. 1582) when the victorious army was marching towards Atak on the river in the neighbourhood of Siyalkot, he delivered up the life which had been entrusted to him² and his corpse was taken to a village in the *pargana* of Amroha, which he had beautified for himself, and was there buried.

mer According to the *Masir ul Umara* he was born at Jam in Khurāsan and was educated in Mashhad. He was introduced to Babar and was a private friend of Humayun's who like him was fond of the astrolabe. He went with Humayun to Irīq and remained twenty years in his service. As a poet he wrote under the *takhallus* of *Nuri*. He is also called *Nuri* of Safidun because he held Safidun for some time in *jdgir*. Albar gave him the title of *Khan* and later that of *Tarkhan*, and appointed him to Sāmanā. His title of *Tarkhan* was, however merely an empty honour and carried none of the privileges connected with it for an account of which see *Ain-i Akbari*, i, 364.

¹ Amroha was a *pargana* town in the *Sarkar* of Sambhal of the Suba of Delhi. See p. 63 note 6. It is now the headquarters of a *tahsil* of the same name in the Muradibad District of the U.P. See *Imp Gazetteer of India*, new series v, 330.

Manlānā Ilahidād was appointed, in 1581, *Sadr* of one of the Duabs in the Panjab. See vol. ii text pp. 205, 296 where he is described as a man well known for his goodness of disposition.

² 'At a distance of three *kuruh* *Mulla* Ilahidād of Amroha who had an unhealed wound in his breast the inflammation of which reached his heart took a purgative from Hakim Hasan and in the course of the day was united to God.' Vol. ii, text, 347.

This concludes the brief account of those *Shaikhs* and learned men of the age whom, for the most part, I have had an opportunity of meeting and waiting upon, and by whose illuminating regard I have been honoured; as for those of them whom I have not seen, be it as God will! Of all those of whom my pen has given an account, but very few remain here and there, like moles on the face of the age, in these days in which there is such a dearth of men worthy to be so called. Those who remain avoid and flee from the world and have been completely forgotten by those of feeble and defective nature, the vulgar, that is to say, who are no better than cattle. These learned men, counting as a
158 loan the few moments of life which are left to them, await the arrival of the swift-footed messenger of death, and, having fully realized the dignity of old age, now hearken with the ears of the soul for the cry "Prepare to set out!" expectantly waiting to answer obediently to the shout.

Quatrain.

In the history of the world the lives of all, both small and great,

Are written, and accounts of brave men and heroes,
 Read, and on each page of it you will see "In such a year
 Died such one, the son of such a one, the son of such a one."

And other *Shaikhs* and learned men are and were scattered throughout all parts of India, throughout its length and breadth, in such numbers that the reckoning of them is left to the knowledge of the Knower of Secrets. Likewise the number of those who are famed and known for the natural wickedness of their dispositions and innate baseness, for their hypocrisy, vileness, worthlessness, crooked dealings and injustice is beyond computation, and there is no need for me to soil my pen by recording anything concerning this handful of rubbish, these base fellows, for I have a great task before me and but little hope of long life, and my condition resembles that of the ice merchant of Nishāpur who was selling ice in the summer, and when the sun waxed hot cried out, "O, ye Muslims! Have pity upon him whose stock-in-trade is melting away on his hands!"

Couplet

'Our life is as ice in the heat of summer

But little of it remains and its owner is still deceived

And my recording the dates of the deaths of the men of whom I write resembles the case of that tailor who in a certain city had his shop by the gate of the graveyard and hung in ev'rythen pot from a nail in his door his only care being to drop a stone in the pot for every funeral which came from the city. Every month 159 he used to count the stones strong. They have carried away so many to burial! Then he would empty the pot and hang it again on the nail, dropping stones into it as before till another month had passed. It so happened that the master tailor died and a man who had not heard of his death came to demand his services. He found the door of his shop shut and asked a neighbour whether the tailor had gone. The neighbour replied He too has gone into the pot.

Couplet

Regard well what happens to others,

For when it has passed by them it will be your lot also

God be gracious! We have fallen into the mouth of a dragon where we cannot even struggle or move, and whence we cannot obtain freedom

Devour thine own blood like the rosebud mourn and open not thy lips,

For the rosebud of this garden, the world, has no hope of blossoming

It points out to thee that some form lofty as the cypress has crumbled away to dust

On every spot which is shaded by the box tree

Since some rose from the pleasure is ev'ry moment borne away on the wind

The solitary lily wears ever the blue raiment of mourning

I would here request my respected and critical readers and acute appraisers not to be unduly carping and censorious as regards the lack of arrangement in this work for the famous

hy the word *qutb* and also hy the word *olz* ("one thousand"), which latter word was the date of the year¹ in which I wrote this treatise which has given me so much pleasure

Now that my heart is disgusted with those depraved wretches who have not scrupled unblushingly to cavil at and openly to revile the faith of Islam, convicting themselves of infidelity and shamelessness, and who are the cause of all the ruin which has fallen upon both the state and the people of Islam and are known as the strife of the latter days I will proceed to an account of the physicians (of the court) although some of these, too, may be classed in the same category as the infidels just mentioned

¹ A.H. 1000 (A.D. 1591-92) The whole work was completed in A.H. 1004 (A.D. 1595)

CHAPTER III.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE PHYSICIANS OF THE REIGN OF THE EMPEROR AKBAR.

Some of the physicians in this reign were so learned in the theory and skilled in the practice of medicine that they performed miracles like those of Mūsā,¹ and brought to mind the wonder-working breath of the Lord ‘Isā,² while others, for the reason that the healing art is a noble subject of study, but a mean pursuit in its practical application, although they busied themselves in the study of medicine, sought political employment, according to their several degrees.

I. HAKÍMU-L-MULK OF GÍLÁN.³

His name was Shamsu-d-dín, and in medicine and the healing art he was the Galen of the age, and was endowed with the healing breath of the Messiah.⁴ In other branches of traditional learning also he was distinguished far above all his fellows. I myself had no dealings with him, for when I first entered the imperial service and presented my preface to the *Nāma-yi-*

¹ Lit. “Had the white hand of Mūsā.” The expression refers to the miracle related in the *Qur’ān*, Chap. xxvii, 12. “Moreover put thy hand into thy bosom, it shall come forth white, without hurt: this shall be one among the nine signs unto Pharaoh and his people, for they are a wicked people.” The account in the *Qur’ān* is taken from the Book of Exodus iv. 6. The expression “the white hand of Moses” is frequently used of a miracle, or of any extraordinary power in a man.

² ‘Isā is the name which Musalmāns give to our Lord, instead of *Yasū‘*, which is the correct version of His Name in Arabic. It is their belief that it was the miraculous property of His breath that restored the dead to life and healed the sick.

³ According to the *Akbarnāma* he was one of those who assisted in the capture of the mad Kh’ája Mu’azzam, Akbar’s maternal uncle. See vol. ii, text 71.

⁴ See note 2, above.

*Khurul ajs*¹ to the emperor the *hakim* served me very ill, replying when asked by the emperor what he thought of my writing. His style is polished, but his book is ill to read" Notwithstanding this the *hakim* was, to do him justice, a sincere well-wisher and a practical helper of God's servants, firm and steadfast in the faith, and devoted to the interests of his friends He was constantly engaged in teaching students, to whom, indeed, he was not only a tutor, but also a generous patron So devoted was he to them that he never on any occasion willingly took his food apart from them, and on this account he was an infrequent guest at the houses of others He was seated one day in the assembly of *Shaykh* Salim i Cishti, discoursing on theology and theologians and praising physicians and magnifying and extolling the importance and glory of the science of medicine, and the greatness of *Shaykh* Abu Ali Sina² This occurred at 162 the time when the 'Ulama and the physicians were at feud, and were daily wrangling, disputing, and quarrelling regarding the dignity of their respective orders As I was unacquainted with these matters and had only recently come from the country and was ignorant of the real grounds of the controversy, I quoted the following verses of *Shaykh* Shihabuddin i Sahravardi³ (may God sanctify his soul!)

Verses

" How long did I say to this people, " You are superfluous ?
 One euro, the grave, is to be found in books of medicine "
 But when they sought satisfaction in threatening us,
 We rested in God for the sufficiency of our recompence
 And they died in the faith of Aristotle,
 While we live in the faith of God's chosen prophet

And I also quoted, in support of the position which I had

¹ See vol 1 trans. Ranking 92 and note 6

² Called in Europe, Avicenna

³ A renowned saint descended from Abu Bakr, the first *Khalifah*. He was the author of the *'Awarif al-Ma'arif* and died at Baghdad in A.H. 632 (A.D. 1234-35)

taken up, those verses of the inspired lord Jāmī¹ (may his tomb be sanctified!) which he has written in his *Tuhfatu-l-Ahrār*.

Couplet.

"Seek not enlightenment of the heart from the bosom of
Sinā,²
Seek not for light from the eyes of the blind."³

This enraged the *hakīm*, and the *Shaikh* said: "The fire of strife was already blazing between these people. Now you have come and have blown it to a still fiercer blaze."

When the arena of strife was closed to the 'ulamā and *shaikh*s this physician disputed with the enemies of the faith whenever he could find an opportunity of doing so, as is briefly related in the account of that party.⁴ At length Ḥakīmu-l-Mulk was no longer able to continue the unequal struggle and applied for leave to go to Makkah the glorious, and in the year H. 988 or 989 (A.D. 1580 or 1581)⁴ he departed on the pilgrimage, and died in the land of the pilgrimage. Thanks be to God for his efforts.

II. ḤAKĪM SAIFU-L-MULŪK OF DAMĀWAND.⁵

To great learning and knowledge of medicine he united a taste 163 for writing vilely scurrilous and satirical verse. His *nom-de-plume* was *Shujā'i*.⁶ As ill-luck would have it, whenever this physician undertook the cure of a sick man, the unfortunate patient surrendered his life to the messenger of death, for which

¹ Maulānā 'Abdu-r-Rahmān-i-Jāmī, the famous poet.

² Avicenna.

³ See vol. ii, text, 263, 275. The word *ja* ('in') has been carelessly omitted from the text, though it is in both MSS.

⁴ According to vol. ii, text, p. 275, Ḥakīmu-l-Mulk was first ordered to go to Makkah in A.D. 1579 owing to his quarrels with Abū-l-Fazl, whom he called *al-fazl* (*fazlah*), 'redundancy,' 'orts' or 'excrement,' and actually departed (p. 285) in that year, being considered one of the unworthy in faith and religion! He received, however, a sum of five lakhs of rupees, to be distributed in alms at Makkah.

⁵ A town under the mountain of the same name, to the east of Tīhrān. In the *Aīn-i-Akbarī* (i, 543) he is called Saifu-l-Mulk *Lang* ('the lame').

⁶ *Vide infra*, Ch. IV, No. LXVIII.

reison the wits gave him the nickname of *Saiful-Hukamā*¹. He attended one of the grandsons of the venerable Shaikh Jāmī, Muḥammad-i-Khabūshānī² by name, better known as *Makkhdumzāda*,³ and helped him on his journey to the next world. The words "Saifu l-Hukama killed him"⁴ were found to give the date of his death. These few lines which were written on the physician Jalal may well be applied to Saiful-Muluk.

Verses

"Regarding the physician Jalāl the Angel of Death,
Last night made his complaint to God, saying,
'Thy slave is helpless before the physician,
Where I kill one he kills a hundred
Either depose him I pray Thee, from the position which
he holds,
Or assign to me some other employment'"⁵

He was held in much honour in India for some years during the time of Būrūm Khān, and afterwards, but according to his own statement he received neither patronage nor honour, and returned to his country disappointed. Thence he wrote and despatched a satirical poem, which for gracefulness and the laughable nature of its subject has been equalled by the poems of few writers of this age. To whet the taste of my readers I transcribe here a few couplets from that poem, which recall themselves spontaneously to my memory.

"A pious calf, untimely born, hailing from Barbary,
Whom I have sometimes called a cat, sometimes the mouse
of the saints,
A Brahman without caste-mark or thread, that is to say an
Indian Shaikh.

¹ *Saiful-Muluk* means 'sword of kings', *Saiful-Hukama*, 'sword of physicians'.

² Khabushānī is near Mashhad

³ 'Son of the master'

⁴ سیف الحکما کشت

⁵ The Urdu poet Sanda has some verses much resembling these in a satire on a physician named Ghau.

165 Why do you ask me of that which I myself do not know.
Verily I am the mystery of unity, though even that
mystery cannot contain me."

Other verses by 'Ainu-l-Mulk.

"No desert place has been seen without a sign of some
habitation.

But against the incurable pain of love no plans avail.

I became the prey of one fair as a gazelle, but when I
looked intently

(I saw) that there was nothing in the game-straps but a
pure soul."

V. HAKĪM MASIḤU-L-MULK, OF SHIRĀZ.¹

He had been brought up by the physician Najmu-d-dīn 'Abdu'l-lāh, the son of Sharafu-d-dīn Ḥasan. He had the disposition of a religious and also sound faith. He was exceedingly well skilled in medicine. He came to Hindūstān from the Dakan and was sent with Sultān Murād² to Gujarāt and the Dakan. In Mālwa death cut short the (silver) cord of his hope.

VI. HAKĪM-I-MIṢRĪ.³

He was well skilled both in the theory and the practice of medicine and learned in all traditional learning. He had some acquaintance with the profane sciences, such as exorcism, etymology, and the formation of broken plurals. He is a cheerful soul and a good companion, whose very approach is a blessing. He put forth his best efforts in treating Shaikh Faizi in his last illness, but all to no avail. What indeed could he do in the face of the irresistible decree of fate, before which all are helpless and dumb. If medicine could prolong the life physicians should never die.

¹ See *Aīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 543.

² The second of Akbar's sons who survived childhood. He was appointed governor of Gujarāt in 1593.

³ He was a commander of four hundred. See *Aīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 491.

The *hakim* sometimes wrote droll verses in Persian, an example of which is the following couplet which he wrote on Kh'āja 166 Shamsu-d-din of Khawāf,¹ the *Dīdān*.

Couplet.

"What overhearing conduct is this of Kh'āja Shamsu-d-din's ?

He intrudes, God forbid it,² upon the domain of medicine !"
One day, on seeing an oleander, which in Arabic is called *dīflaq*, in bloom, he uttered the following hemistich —

"The locks leap up like flame from the head of the *dīflaq*"

When the emperor built a dār in the courtyard of the *masjid* at Lāhōr and issued an order to the effect that anybody who wished to do so might recite their prayers there in his presence, Hakim-i-Misri wrote the following verses —

"Our king has founded a *masjid*
O yo faithful, good fortune may it bring !
It is good policy also in this *masjid*
To recite and reckon up our prayers "

He was very simple-minded and unselfish, and for this reason acquired but little wealth. He produced, however, some practical treatises on medicine. He died in Burhanpur in Khāndesh and was buried in the neighbourhood of that city.³

1 See *Ain-i-Akbari*, 1, 445

2 I follow here the reading of the MSS viz. — مَاش, which I take to be contraction of مَا شَاء ('God forbid') The text has مَاش of which I cannot make sense in this connection. The true reading may be پاش ('his foot'), in which case the translation of the hemistich would be 'His intruding foot encroaches upon the domain of medicine'

3 This history was completed in A H 1004 (A D 1596) so that according to Badaoni Hakim Misri died before that date, but Abu'l Farz in the *Akbar-nama* mentions his death in A H 1009 (A D 1600-01) and says that he saw his friend on his death-bed. There is no means of reconciling this discrepancy or of deciding the question. The *Tabaqat* praises him for his practical knowledge of medicine and his good disposition, but his death is not mentioned there.

VII. HAKIM 'ALI.¹

He is sister's son to Ḥakīm-l-Mulk and was the pupil of his uncle and of Shāh Fathū-llāh of Shīrāz, in medicine, and studied traditional learning under Shaikh 'Abdu-n-Nabi. Notwithstanding his great learning in the holy law and in Sunnī theology, his malignancy in adhering to the Zāidī² sect and his obstinacy in the Shi'ah heresy, in which matters he resembles the other physicians of the age, are as great as ever they were.³ His excellence in acquired knowledge, and especially in the science of medicine, is extreme, and he is passionately devoted to the practice of the healing art, but as he is but a youth, self-opinionated and of limited experience, it sometimes happens that a patient, after taking one of his draughts speedily has a taste of the draught of extinction, and notwithstanding the fact that he was the pupil of Shāh Fathū-llāh of Shīrāz, he ordered him, when he was in an ardent fever, a diet of thick pottage,⁴ thereby handing him over to death, the executioner.

"To drink with him is death to the senses."

¹ He came poor and destitute from Gilān to India, but became in course of time a personal attendant on Akbar. In A.H. 988 (A.D. 1580) he was sent as ambassador to 'Ali 'Ādil Shāh I of Bijāpūr and was well received, but before he could be sent back with presents for his master 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh was slain by a eunuch. In 1593 Ḥakīm 'Alī constructed a wonderful reservoir (*ḥawz*) at Āgra, and in the following year was a commander of 700 and had the title of Jālinūsu-z-Zamān ('the Galon of the Ago'). He treated Akbar immediately before his death. Akbar had dysentery, or acute diarrhoea, which 'Alī checked by a powerful astringent. Costive fever and strangury ensued, and 'Alī then administered an aperient, which brought back the diarrhoea, of which Akbar died. In 1609 Jahāngīr visited 'Alī's reservoir and made him a commander of two thousand. 'Alī died on April 10 of that year.

² The followers of Zaid bin 'Alī, who caused a dissension among the Shi'ahs by refusing to curse the first two *Khalifahs*.

³ Jahāngīr (*Tuzuk*, p. 74) says of Ḥakīm 'Alī that he was without equal as a physician, was an excellent Arabic scholar, and had written a commentary on the *Qānūn*, but that he had more application than brains, that his looks were better than his morals, and his behaviour better than his heart, for that he was, on the whole, a bad and unprincipled man.

⁴ Badāoni has, perhaps, let his prejudice against the Shi'ah *hakīm* run

VIII HAKIM ABU-I-FATH OF GILAN¹

He obtained favour in the emperor's service to such a degree that he was admitted to his intimate companionship and acquired such influence over him as to render himself an object of envy to all who concerned themselves in the affairs of state. He was highly distinguished for his acumen and quickness of apprehension, and for his proficiency in all worldly accomplishments, prose and poetry. He was no less a byword for his infidelity and all other reprehensible qualities.² I heard, when the *hakim* first arrived at Court, that he used to say, 'The only things worth considering are *Khusrau* and these twelve couplets.' He always spoke of Anvari as "Anwariak the flatterer," and likened him to Mir Badanjan, who was the buffoon of his time. Of

away with him here. According to another account *Fathu'llah*, who thought that he understood medicine better than *Hakim 'Ali* did also the poison against his doctor's advice and presently died.

¹ Maṣīḥū d-dīn Abu I-Faṭḥ, son of Maṣīḥū Abū r-Raṣṣāq, Sadr of Gilan and brother of *Hakim Junayd* and *Hakim Nāru d-dīn*. He and his brothers arrived in India in 1576 (vol. II text, 211) and were well received. Four years later Abu'l-Faṭḥ was made *Sālīr* and *Amīr* of Bengal. He was captured by the rebels, but escaped and returned to court. In 1586 Abu'l-Faṭḥ was sent to help Raja Bir Bar against the Yusufzais in Sawad and Bajaur, but was reprimanded on his return, as the disastrous result of the campaign was rightly attributed to his and the Raja's insubordination against Zain Khan Kukna. In 1588-89 he went with Akbar to Kashmir and thence to Zabulistan, but on the march he fell sick and died, and was buried at *Ihsān* *Abdāl*.

² See vol. II, text, p. 211. Badaoni says, 'The eldest brother (*Hakim Abu I-Faṭḥ*) by means of his winning address soon obtained great influence with the emperor, and flattered him openly, complying with him in all questions of religion and the faith, and even going in advance of him, so that he was soon admitted as an intimate companion of his majesty. Soon after there came to court from Persia Mulla Muhammad i Yazdi, who was nicknamed *Yazidi* and joined them, and poured unlimited abuse on the companions of the prophet, relating strange stories of them, and tried hard to make the emperor a *Sh'ah*. He was soon left behind by the bastard Bir Bar *Shaikh* Ahu I Fazl, and *Hakim Abu I-Faṭḥ*, who turned the emperor entirely aside from the faith, and led him to reject inspiration, prophecy, the miracles of the prophets and the saints, and the whole law.'

Khāqānī he used to say, "If he were now living he would be much improved, for whenever he came to my house I would box his ears for him, to arouse him from his sleepiness, and when he went hence to Shaikh Abū-l-Fażl's house he also would box his ears, and between us we should improve his poetry.

IX. ḤAKĪM ḪASAN OF GĪLĀN.¹

He was noted for his natural quickness of wit, but he had not learning in proportion, though he possessed excellent qualities and praiseworthy attributes.

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X. ḤAKĪM HUMĀM.²

He was the younger brother of Ḥakīm Abū-l-Faṭḥ, and his disposition was better than his brother's. Although it was not naturally good, yet it cannot be said to have been naturally evil. Ḥakīm Ḫasan, Shaikh Faizī, Kamālā the *Sadr*, and Ḥakīm Humām³ all died one after the other within the space of a month, and all the wealth which they had amassed disappeared in a moment, vanishing as completely as though it had been sunk in the Red Sea and the Arabian Sea, and to them nothing remained but the wind of vain regrets. But this indeed is and has been the common fate of all courtiers, both dead and living, namely, that, in spite of the treasures of Qārūn⁴ and Shaddād⁵

¹ In the Lakhnau edition of the *Tabaqāt* he is wrongly called 'Ḥakīm Husain of Gilān,' and is described as a man of praiseworthy morals.

² He was the younger brother of Ḥakīm Abū-l-Faṭḥ and came to India with him. His real name was Humāyūn, but when he came to court he discreetly called himself Humāyūn Quṭī ('slave of Humāyūn'). Akbar gave him the name of Humām, which means 'hero' or 'magnanimous prince.' (Mr. Blochmann in the *Ain-i-Akbari*, i, 474, note 2, has apparently mistaken it for *Hammām* 'a bath' or *Nammām* 'a slanderer'). He held the office of Bakāwal Beg and, though only a commander of 600, was a personal friend of Akbar and had great influence at court. In the 31st year he was sent with Ṣadr-i-Jahān (*q. v.*) as an envoy to Tūrān, and returned to India about a month after his brother's death. He died November 9, 1595.

³ See vol. ii, text, pp. 205, 206. ⁴ The Korah of the Scriptures.

⁵ Shaddād the son of 'Ad, King of Yāman. See *Qur'ān* lxxxix, 5, and vol. i, trans. Ranking, p. 261 and note 6.

which they are enabled to amiss, they depart hence often without so much as a shroud, and bearing on their broken necks the affliction of their malignity the load of eternal disappointment and everlasting ignominy—And this, too, is the saying of Isa (on whom be peace¹) which he spoke to the world likening it in parable to an old woman, ' Woe to thy living husbands, they believe not on the fate of thy husbands who are no more !'

" Sm render thy soul to the Beloved, else shall death snatch it from thee !"

" Judge thou for thyself, my soul, which of the two is the better !"

The *Hakim* died in Lahore, and his body was carried thence to the camping ground of Nasir Alidat and interred beside that of his brother.

XI HAKIM AHMAD, OF PATTIA¹

He was a good theologian who was impelled by his own shameless assurance to pose as a physician. His learning was extensive, and he had travelled throughout Arabia and Persia. He was a cheerful soul, but somewhat disordered in mind a prey to vain desires, and a pretender to honours to which he had no claim. I constantly admonished him, reminding him that he had no right to the rank of a *Sayyid*, and that groundless claims of this sort met with scant consideration in India. I told him if he had any regard² for the faith, to profess himself a true Nasarī 169 man, for that in these latter days nothing remained of the true faith but its name. But my admonitions availed nothing, and he met with the just reward of his deeds. I saw him after he had received his death wound from Mirza Fulid,³ and I swear

¹ Hakim Ahmad was a bigoted *Shiah* who used to curse and revile the companions of Muhammad and all *Sunnis* including his own ancestors, who had been *Sunnis*. See vol. II, text 317.

² حُرْمَةٌ The word *حُرْمَةٌ* is carelessly omitted from the text, though both manuscripts have it.

³ See vol. II, text, 319, 364. Mirza Fulid Beg Bahadur enticed Ahmad from his house at midnight on the pretext that the emperor had sent for him and murdered him in the street, in Lahore, 'on account of his bigotry in the

by God, the God of whose Godhead there is no doubt, that the *ḥakīm*'s face appeared to others, as well as to me, exactly like the head of a hog, and the words "the hellish hog"¹ were found to give the date of his death. *Shaikh* Faizī found another chronogram in the words, "on the twenty-fifth of the month of *Safur*."² I found two chronograms for the event in the following couplet slightly altered from the *Hadīqah*,³ which is applicable equally to the slayer and the slain.

"And we adhered to the certain presumptions."

Another person found a chronogram in the words, "Hail, dagger of Fūlād!"⁴

(*Shī'ah*) faith, and other annoyances which Fūlād had experienced at his hands.' This occurred in January, 1588. Ahmad's abuse of the orthodox *Khalīfahs* is given as the cause of Fūlād's act, but from the earlier passage it is clear that the murderer had some other motive. Moreover, when Fūlād was asked by Ḥakīm Abū-l-Fath, at the instance of Akbar, whether it was religious zeal which had prompted the deed he replied, 'Had it been only religious zeal I should have attacked a greater than Ahmad.' Although the ladies of the *haram*, who admired Fūlād's courage, interceded for him, he was executed by being bound to the foot of an elephant. Ahmad lingered for three or four days and then 'went to his own place.' Badāoni says that he saw 'the dog' in his death agony, and noticed the change in his face. This, which is called *maskh*, is said by *Sunnīs* to happen frequently to *Shī'ahs*, because they revile the companions of the prophet. Compare the account of Faizī's death-bed, *infra*, Ch. IV, No. CVII. After Ahmad's burial Faizī and Abū-l-Fazl had a guard set over his tomb, but when the court left Lāhor for Kashmīr 'the people of Lāhor one night exhumed his impure corpse and burnt it.'

¹ خوک سفری giving the date 996 (A.D. 1588).

² دریست و پنج ماه صفر. There is something wrong with this chronogram. It gives the date 1153.

³ Probably the *Hadīqatu-l-Haqīqat wa Sharī'atu-l-Tariqah*, otherwise known as the *Fakhriyāma* by Sannī. See vol. i, trans. Ranking, 35 note 1, 57 note 1. I cannot, however, find a chronogram in the couplet. One hemistich gives 1049, and the other 1132.

⁴ Or 'Hail, dagger of steel!' () زہی خنجر فولاد Fūlād means 'steel.' The chronogram gives the correct date, 996 (A.D. 1588).

XII. JAKIM LOFZ-UL-ÎLH, OR GILÂN¹

He was well known as a clever practitioner, and his learning was very great.

XIII. JAKIM MEZAFFAE, OR ARDASTAN.²

When a young man he was physician to Shâh Tahmâsb.³ He came to India and was here highly regarded. He is a young man of great piety, and lives cleanly. When he attends the sick his very footstep seems to bring them good luck. Although he has not much learning, his practical experience is very great.

XIV. JAKIM FATHU'LÂH, OR GHIS.⁴

He has read very many works on medicine, and his knowledge of astronomy also is great. He has written a Persian commentary on the *Qanta*. He has now gone to Kâbul to treat Qilîj Khân.

XV. SHAIKH BINâ.⁵

He is the son of Shaikh Hasan, the quack doctor of Sirhind. His skill in surgery is great, and in the treatment of elephants he

¹ Brother of Jakim Abu'l-Fath and Jakim Humâm. He was a commander of two hundred. See *Ann.-Akbari*, i, 518.

² Ardashan is a town lying between Kashân and Nard. In the *Tubaqât* this physician is called Jakim Jalâlî d-din Muzaffar. Under Akbar he was a commander of two hundred, but Jahângir in 1606 gave him the rank of a commander of 3,000, with 1,000 horse. *Tuzuk*, 37. Jahângir heard of his death on Sep. 14, 1607. In the *Tuzuk* (p. 59), where he calls him Jalâlî d-din Muzaffar Ardashâni, he says that his practice was greater than his learning. He praises him very highly.

³ Who, according to Jahângir, wrote a verse on Muzaffar. He is a pleasing physician, come, let us all fall sick!

⁴ In the first year of Jahângir's reign Fathu'lâh had the rank of commander of 1,000, with 300 horse (*Tuzuk*, p. 31). According to the *Pâdgahândma*, i, b, 350, he returned to his native country, where he died. There is no authority for Blochmann's statement (*Im.* i, 512) that he committed suicide. His grandson, of the same name, was a physician at the court of *Shâhjahan*.

⁵ See *Ann.-Akbari*, i, 513. Shaikh Binâ had a son, Shaikh Hasan or Hasau, who, under Jahângir, attained great honours. Hasan apparently received

is one of the wonders of the age. Latterly, he has become the prey of mischievous hallucinations.

There are also among the physicians others, obscure Musalmans¹ and accursed Hindūs,² from writing of whom my heart revolts.

tho title of Muqarrab Khān from Akbar, or from Jahāngīr in Akbar's reign (*Tūzuk*, p. 12). He rose to be a commander of 5,000, and was successively governor of Gujārāt, Bihār, and Āgra. He was pensioned off at the beginning of Shāhjahān's reign, and died at the age of ninety. In the 41st year of Akbar's reign Shaikh Bīnā and his son succeeded in curing a bad wound which Akbar had received from a buck at a deer-fight.

¹ In the *Aīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 542—544, eleven Muhammadan physicians besides those mentioned by Badāoni are mentioned. Shaikh Ahmad, of Thathā, is not there mentioned. The *Tubaqāt* mentions all those described here and five others.

² In the *Aīn-i-Akbarī* (i, 544) four Hindū physicians are mentioned, and in the *Tubaqāt* six.

CHAPTER IV

An Account of the Poets of the Reign of the Emperor Akbar

A full account of the poets of the reign of the Emperor Akbar is given in the *Nus'a-nu-l-Ma'dar*, well known as the *Tazkirah* of Mir 'Ala'u d-daulah,¹ which is the source from which the materials for this brief account are extracted. Some of these poets have composed *dīwāns*. I have written of those with whom I was acquainted, whom I have even seen, whether near or from afar, or who have acquired fame.

I. Ghaṣālī or Maṣṣīḥād²

When his life was attempted in Iraq on account of his infidelity and intemperance, he fled thence to the Dakan and afterwards came to Hindūstān. The Khān-i-Zamīn sent him one thousand rupees for his expenses, and wrote from Jānpur a witty epigram, which contained an enigma in the poet's name:

"O Ghaṣālī, I adjure thee by the claims of the lord of Najaf³
That thou come to the slaves of the peerless one!⁴
Since thou art without honour in that country,⁵
Take thy head,⁶ and come out of it!"

¹ Mir 'Ala'u d-daulah was the brother of Mir 'Abdu'l-Lāzīf of Qazvin, see above, c. II, No. XX. His *tazkirah*, here referred to, I have never seen, and do not know where a copy of it is to be found. Mir 'Ala'u-d-daulah wrote under the poetical name of Kāmī, see No. CXIV.

² The *Ātashkāda yr-Āzārī* says that he wrote sixteen books, and that he fled from Persia during the reign of Shah Tahmasp. The *Mir'atū l 'Ilām* mentions two books written by him, the *Asrār-i-Mulkām*, and the *Ragħħabu l Hayat*, to which the *Hast Iqlim* adds a third, the *Mir'atū l Ka'māt*.

³ 'Ali, Muhammad's cousin and son-in law, the fourth *Khalifah*. Ghaṣālī was a *Shī'ah*, hence the force of the appeal.

⁴ I believe that this refers to Akbar, but it may refer to God. It is not unlikely that the ambiguity is intentional.

⁵ The Dakan

⁶ I have translated this phrase literally, as it contains the enigma. It

He was for some time with the Khān-i-Zamān and afterwards¹ entered the emperor's service and received the title of *Maliku-sh-Shū'arā*.² He compiled several *dīvāns* and a book of *mashnawīs*. It is said that he has written no fewer than forty or fifty thousand couplets.³ Although his compositions do not rank very high, yet his poems, as regards both quality and quantity, are superior to those of any of his contemporaries. He died very suddenly in Ahmādābād on Friday, Rajab 27, A.H. 980 (Dec. 3, A.D. 1572),⁴ and his majesty ordered that he should be buried in Sarkhej,⁵ the resting-place of many of the great saints and famous kings of old. Qāsim Arsalān⁶ wrote this chronogram for the date of his death, taking it down from the dictation of Qāsim Kāhī.⁷

“Last night Ghazālī, that accursed dog,
Went drunk and defiled to hell.
Kāhī wrote the date of his death
‘A base infidel departed from this world.’”⁸

means ‘take your own way,’ just as we say, of a horse, ‘give him his head.’ The ‘head’ or first letter of Ghazālī is $\hat{\xi}$, which stands for 1000. Thus the expression also means here, ‘Take a thousand (rupees).’

¹ According to the *Tabaqāt* Ghazālī remained in the service of the Khān-i-Zamān until the latter was killed (June, 1567), and then entered the emperor's service.

² ‘King of poets,’ or, as we say, ‘poet laureate.’ Faizī was his successor in the title.

³ According to the *Tabaqāt* nearly 100,000. The *Mir'ātu-l-'Ālam* agrees with Badoānī. The *Ātashkada-yi-Āzar* estimates his couplets at 40,000, and the *Hast Iqlīm* estimates them at 70,000.

⁴ Faizī has a very neat chronogram, مُتَّهِّدٌ وَ هَشْتَاد (‘the year 980’), the numerical values of the letters of which give the sum 980.

⁵ See *Ain-i-Akbarī*, ii, 241. Sultān Ahmād (1411—1442), after whom Ahmādābād is named, and many other princes are buried here. A variant is ‘Sarkhec.’

⁶ *Vide infra*, No. IV.

⁷ See the next notice.

⁸ مُلَعَّدٌ وَنَيِّ رَفْتْ زَعْلَمْ, giving the date 980.

Another chronogram—

' Ghazal was a treasure house of hidden meaning,
His resting place is the pure earth of Sarkhej
The date of his death with the difference of one year only,
Is given by the words, 'Ahmadabad and the dust of
Sarkhej' '¹

The following is the opening couplet of an ode which I have not been able to discover in my *drasan* written by him —

" We heard a noise and opened our eyes from the sleep of nothingness
We saw that the night of strife had not passed away, and fell asleep again "²

Couplets by Ghazali

" If in the *Ka'bah* thy heart wanders towards my besides
(the Lord of the *Ka'bah*)
The worship is all wickedness, and the *Ka'bah* is to thee no more than an idol-temple.
But if thy heart is fixed on God even though thou dwell in the wineshop
Drink wine fearlessly, thine end can be sought but good "

" We fear not death, but this is our misfortune
That we must remain disappointed of regarding the lovely ones of this world "

' Those who are at rest in the dust were all slain by thy sword
The sword of Death has had no opportunity here "

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¹ This chronogram is entirely wrong. Both the text and the MSS. have 'Sarganj' for 'Sarkhej, and the rhyme necessitates this reading, which if adopted, gives the date 1021. If the correct name of the place, Sarkhej, be substituted we get the date 986—still six years wrong.

² A description of life

" We are within the compass of a revolving lantern¹; a whole world remains in astonishment therin,
Man whirls madly therein like the figures on the lantern."

" The zealot's cloak is stretched over his bent form like the string on a bow,
But the debauchees fear not the arrows of his prayers."

A Quatrain.

" My mind is an ocean which contains a gem,
My tongue is a sword which has an edge,
The clarion of my pen has the sound of the last trump,
I am the bird of the angels, my words are winged."

He has introduced into one *qasidah* all the numerals from one to a hundred. This is its opening couplet—

" By one word from thy two ruby lips Masiḥ² obtained three favours;
Eternal life, and graceful speech, and power to give life."

" We are wine, and round our necks is the collar of the wine-jar,
We have a power of intoxication in which the whole world is lost."

II. QĀSIM-I-KĀHĪ.³

He was Miyān Kāhi of Kābul. Although his verses are crude
173 and his ideas all stolen from others, yet they are written in a con-

¹ A lantern which revolves by the smoke of the candle within, and has on the sides of it figures of men and animals.

² The Messiah.

³ Kāhī ("straw-like") is thns described in the *Āīn* (i, 566). ' He is known as Miyān Kāhī. He knew something of the ordinary sciences, and lived quiet and content. He rarely mixed with people in high position. On account of his generous disposition a few low men gathered around him, for which reason well-meaning people who did not know his circumstances often upbraided him. Partly from his own love of independence, partly from the indulgence of his majesty, he counted himself among the disciples, and often foretold future events.' In the *Zubaqāt* it is said that he had many ac-

uected style and in this respect *Kāhi* had no equal. He was well versed in astronomy, rhetoric, and the mysticism of the *Sufis*, and wrote a treatise on music. In short he had no equal in his time in knowledge of the mysticism of the *Sufis*, the art of composing enigmas, history, elocution, and various other arts. Although he had had the advantages of associating with the *shaykhs* of former days, among them that lord of his age Maulavi Jami (may his tomb be hallowed!) and others yet all his life was spent in heresy and infidelity. But notwithstanding these ill qualities his liberality, generosity, open handedness and bounty were extreme and he was always surrounded by a crowd of *qalīmlās* lewd fellows and courtesans and associated unrestrainedly with dogs. It would seem that such conduct is the invariable attribute of one bearing the title of *Maliku sh Shu'aib*¹ as has been said in the verses—

Harken to this advice from Saifi
 That it may suffice thee all thy life
 On good poetry and a handsome boy
 Pin thy faith no matter whose they be²

I have no concern with his religion, but I reproduce the following selections from his verses —

complishments and was specially distinguished in the art of music, that he lived a free and unconventional life and attained the age of 120. Myan Kal is the name of the hills between Samarcand and Balkara. According to the *Ātashkada yād* or he was born in Turkistan and brought up in Kabul. One of his ancestors paid his respects to Timur accompanied the army of that conqueror and settled at last in Turkistan. Kāhi was well received by Humayun. According to the *Hast Iqlū* Kāhi's name was Sayyid Najmuddin Muhammad his *kunyah* being Abū'l Qasim. When fifteen years old he visited Jami (died 1493-94) and afterwards Hāshim of Kirman. He was a drunkard and a rinner and lived a free life, following no creed or doctrine. He lived long at Banaras and afterwards at Agra where he died May 17, 1580. See also vol 1 trans Rambag p 584 notes 1 and 3 and p 601.

¹ I have translated literally although the passage makes it appear that Kāhi held the title of *Maliku sh Shu'aib* which he never bore. Badaoni is running astir at Farz who was very fond of dogs and means to say that Kāhi was a regular *Maliku sh Shu'aib* in his conduct.

Couplets.

"Like thy shadow we are with thee, whithersoever thou goest,

It may be that in time thou wilt shew us some kindness.

O ancient of love, seek the company of one with Yūsuf's cheeks.

Small wonder were it if so thou becamest young like Zulaikhā.

Kāhī, thou art the nightingale which adorns the pleasance of Kābul,

No crow or kite art thou that thou shouldst come to Hindū-stān."

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"Grief for thine absence has reduced my body to the likeness of a spider's web,

It is for this reason that the corner of a ruin is my dwelling."

He set the two odes of which the opening couplets are given below to sweet music, so that they have become known throughout the world and are sung in all assemblies, enlivening alike the banquets of kings and the gatherings of mystics.

Opening Couplet of the First Ode.

"The bird which began to flap his wings on the forehead of Majnūn

Inflamed in his brain the fire of his grief for Lailā."

Opening Couplet of the Second Ode.

"When the mirror is filled with roses, the reflection of the loved one's face,

The parrot who looks therein becomes a nightingale."

The following is an enigma¹ on the name of God :—

¹ I have not attempted to solve either this enigma or the next. The verses run, in the original—

نیست از همیش کسی آگاه * اب—د اکان لا نه—ایرَة له

تاره ش—رع را شناقد—ه ام * از محمد نبی شگافتہ ام

" Nobody has full knowledge of His essence,
From eternity without beginning has He been, He is limitless."

And the following is another enigma on the name of the prophet —

" Since I journeyed along the road of the holy law,
My path has been divided from that of Muhammad the prophet "

He was the author of a well known *dīwan* and has also written a *mazāra* which he has entitled *Gul Afshān*, a reply¹ to the *Bustān* of *Sa'di*, corresponding with it rhyme for rhyme. Its opening couplet is —

'To the world's Creator be praises from the soul
To the soul's Creator a hundred worlds of praise "²

The following is another couplet by him —

' My cruel darling has killed thousands with her coquettices,
My spoilt darling still continues her coquettices "

" The rain of misfortune has broken on my grief stricken body,
What misfortune is there that the heavens have not rained
on my head ? "

" No narcissus blooms in the place of my pilgrimage,
My eyes are whitened with watching for thee '

The following couplet was written by him on a Hindu youth, a *Jogi* —

¹ حواب A poem written in imitation of another and intended to compete with the original.

² This couplet runs as follows —

حَوَابْ أَفْرُسْ رَايْحَانْ أَفْرُسْ * بَعْلَارْ أَفْرُسْ صَدَحَهَانْ أَفْرُسْ

Sa'di's Bustān begins —

بَهَارْ حَهَانْ دَارْ حَانْ أَفْرُسْ * حَكِيمْ سَعْنَ بَرْ رِيلْ أَفْرُسْ

"Thy flame-coloured face shines above the ashes on thy body
like the lotus,

Or it may be that thy head-cloth has been reduced to ashes
by thy resplendent face."

175 But the idea developed in this couplet very much resembles that which is the motive of the following couplet by Mullā *Vasfi*² of Kābul:—

"It is not the burning fever of separation from thee which
has induced me to choose the dust for a bed,
Rather is it that my bed has been burnt to ashes by the
ardent fever which possesses me, sick with my longing for
thee."

When Mullā Qāsim was told that most of his poetical ideas were stolen from others, he used to reply, "I have never asked you to believe that my poems were wholly my own. If they please you not, take a pen-knife, and erase them from the copies of my *divān*." He has an excellent *qasīdah* on the astrolabe, which runs on into an encomium on the late emperor, Humāyūn. His copiousness of diction is well exemplified therein. When Kh'āja Mn'azzam Khān,³ notwithstanding his lameness, came to visit Mullā Qāsim-i-Kāhī in his sickness, the Mullā composed the following extempore ode on the event, setting it to music at the same time:—

"Thou did'st halt in affected disdain one pace from the face
of my longing,

May thy foot never pain thee more, my graceful cypress!

Howmuchsoever I recounted, in the night of separation, the
joys of thy presence,

The tale of my long-drawn-out grief was not lessened."

One day the *Mullā* was walking in the emperor's garden, on the far side of the Jamna, when the poet *Subūhī*⁴ met him, and as

¹ *Scil.*, the ashes of cow-dung, बृंश (bhṛṅgh) with which Hindū ascetics besmear themselves.

² See below, No. CLXII.

³ The brother of Akbar's mother.

⁴ *Vide infra*, No. LXXI.

soon as he saw him said, "Sir have you heard that a man who accepted Islam late in life¹ has died in Iraq?" The *Mulla* replied, "May you be spared!"²

When the imperial army marched to Conquer Mulla *Ghazali* accompanied it in the early stages of the journey. It so happened that a false report of the death of Mulla Qasim *Kahki* was spread abroad and when *Ghazali* heard it he composed the following chronogram which is although far fetched and based on a false rumour, yet without elegance:

'The wretched *Kahki* left the world
Should you wish to know the date of his death
Know that since he could not help but go he was condemned 170
And 'Qasim *Kahki* went from the world' ³

But before this lying tale became a fact Mulla Qasim *Kahki* was enabled to take his revenge by composing a chronogram on the death of *Ghazali*, and a second one also as full retribution. These have already been cited.⁴ But

"What can a liar tell, but a lie"
Although the following couplet is true
"I have seen poets, within my experience
Without followers, without offspring, and without any suc-
cessful issue of their labours"

and all the poets of the present age together both small and great, are, with the exception of three or four aged men adherents of the *Jawari* and *Haidari*⁵ sects, yet these two whom I have just mentioned were the guides and leaders of all the rest and left the heritage of their busyness to their followers and dependants dividing it among them in due proportion to the natural fitness

کہن صوفیں ۱ I think this is the meaning of the phrase, but cannot be sure.

² i.e., 'to accept Islam'

³ گزینہ ای رہاں روٹ قاسم کافی giving the date 984 (A.D. 1576-77)

⁴ See above p. 40, note 8

⁵ The *Haidaris* are the followers of Qutbuddin 'Ali, founder of a mystic sect. I have no information regarding the *Jawari*.

and ability of each one to avail himself of it, and with due regard to the claims which each had acquired by former companionship with them.

When I regard this vile gang I am oppressed by the fear that the poets of old¹ (may God protect us from them!) may perhaps have resembled them. God forbid that it should have been so! Yet the experience of ages tells us that worldly people in each particular period follow closely in one another's footsteps and that there are no radical differences of disposition among them.

III. KHĀJA HUSAIN OF MARV.²

He was one of the sons of that saint of the Lord and traveller in the path of the Eternal God, Shaikh Ruknū-d-dīn ‘Alā’u-d-danlah of Samānān (may God sanctify his tomb!). In those branches of knowledge which exercise the reasoning faculty, he was the pupil of Maulānā ‘Isāmī-d-dīn and Mullā Ḥanafī, and in the study of the holy law he was the disciple of the last and best of the sages and traditionists Shaikhū-bnū-Hajar-i-Ṣāmī.

¹ Badāoni is possibly referring to those poets who wrote against Muhammad. See *Qur'ān*, c. xxvi.

² Khāja Husain is thus described in the *Ain* (i, 574). 'He possessed many excellent qualities, and sold his encomiums at a high price. He lived at the court of Humāyūn, and was also during this reign highly favoured.' In the *Tabaqat* he is thus described, 'He is by origin the son of a *vazir*. He has acquired learning, and was distinguished above his fellows by a high degree of intelligence and the sharpness of his understanding. He was for years in the service of the emperor Humāyūn and was one of his intimates, and a member of his heavenly assembly.' See vol. ii, text, pp. 120, 132. Khāja Husain composed a *qaṣīdah* on the birth of Sultān Salīm (Jahāngīr) containing chronograms for the accession of Akbar and the birth of Salīm. Badāoni says that the first hemistich of each couplet is a chronogram for the former event, and the second hemistich of each couplet a chronogram for the latter, but this is not so. He also composed a *qit'ah* of seven couplets on the birth of Salīm and Murād, the first hemistich of each couplet of which purports to be a chronogram for Salīm's birth, and the second hemistich of each couplet a chronogram for Murād's. There are, however, some errors in the chronograms. For the *qaṣīdah* he received two lakhs of *tankas* and it was, perhaps, this reward to which Abū-l-Fażl referred when he said that Husain sold his encomiums at a high price.

(may God have mercy on him!) His facility in verse his elegance in literary style his rhetorical flourishes his fine delivery, 177 his polish and copiousness of diction and his wit were unrivalled He composed a *dhruva* and his poetry though not in the first rank is of respectable quality The following couplets are by him —

"O, thou in whose absence the tears drop from my eye
lashes

While the thought of sleep¹ is banished from my eyes!

Thou didst display thyself to me in such wise as thou wert
not

Alas! that thou wert not such as thou didst seem!"

It seems likely that this couplet is an imitation of the following
quatrain —

"We say that maybe we are of the truthful --but we are
not

And that we are of the truthful and sincere,—but we are
not

We are adorned outwardly, but inwardly we are otherwise
Alas! that we are not what we seem to be!"

The following couplets are also by *Marsi* —

"With me thy brow is wrinkled like the rosebud,

With others thy lips open in smiles, like the pistachio"

"I wish that the love which I bear to thee
Should be known to me, and to thee, and to God'

The following couplets in praise of Mahummad are from the
translation of the *Sinjhsan Butta*,² of which His Majesty ordered
this poet to make a translation, which was never completed —

¹ The text and the MSS. have حیال و حواب (ideas and sleeps) حیال makes better sense حواب

² This book is not mentioned in the *Imān Akbari* as one of those trans-
lated by Akbar's orders but see vol ii text p 183 Badshah was app-
arently ordered to complete the translation He says that the book is a
collection of thirty two stories concerning Raja Bikramajit (Vikramāditya)

"The sweet-voiced nightingale of the garden of revelation¹
 Whose eyes were anointed with the antimony of us base
 crows,
 Who in his unquestionable abrogation of the Psalms of
 David,
 Has drawn his pen through the copies of the Pentateuch
 and the Gospels,
 To his high court is prophecy entrusted,
 To him, the chief of the prophets and the seal of apostle-
 ship."

A Quatrain.

178 "I am he whose kingdom is the realm of words,
 The money-changer of wisdom is the appraiser of my
 threaded gems,
 The exordium "Be!" is but one leaf of my writings ;
 The secrets of the two worlds are on the tip of my pen."

In the year H. 979 (A.D. 1571-72) he obtained permission to depart from Hindūstān and to go to his native land, and Shaikh Faizi, who was his pupil, found the date of his departure in the words "may his shadow be extended!"² He went to Kābul and was received with consideration and honour by Mirzā Muham-mad Ḥakim, but when he presented his *pīshkash*³ of merchandise, goods, valuables, and precious articles from India, he rose from his place and took the list of his presents from the hands of the registrar of complimentary presents and detailed and explained the quantity, quality and name of each description of cloth, even going so far as to give the price of each. The *Mirzā* was much displeased at this breach of decorum, and, rising from an assembly with which he was disgusted, ordered that all who pleased should fall on the spoil and carry off what they could,

of Mālwa (see *Aīn-i-Akbarī*, ii, 211), and that the book resembles the *Tūlināmā* ('Tales of a Parrot'). Badāoni called his translation *Nāma-yi-Khirad-afzā*.

¹ عَبْرِي, literally 'sending' or 'apostleship.'

² مُهَاجَرَة, giving 980, one year in excess.

³ Complimentary present.

so that in the space of an hour everything disappeared. The *Khāja* shortly after this died in Kābul.

IV QĀSIM-I-ARSALĀN¹

He wrote poetry under the *nom-de plume* of Aīsalān on account of his father's claim to descent from Arsalan-i Jazib, one of the great nobles of the court of Sultān Mahmud-i Ghurzayi. His native place was Tūs² and he grew to manhood in Transoxiana. He was a poet sweet of song, welcome to all both great and small, for his personal beauty and graceful wit, adorned with the ornament of an open and cheerful disposition and with the quality of sociability and social amiability. In the composing of epigrams he had no equal. He was the author of a *dīwan*, and the following few couplets are of his making —

"I wish to raise my head at the resurrection, from a spot of earth

On which the foot of a fair one shall be lingering in grace- 179
ful coquetry."

"O, thou who hardly givest up but half thy life, what place
hast thou

Where lives are freely given by the hundred for one glance
from the beloved?"

I remember something very like this latter couplet in an ode of the author of which I cannot quite recall the name. It is as follows —

¹ Arsalan is mentioned in the *Imām Akbari* (1, 103) under the name of Nuru 'llah Qasim Arsalan as one of the renowned calligraphists of the age. Abu'l Farī describes him as a poet (*op. cit.* 1, 609) as follows: Qasim Arsalan of Maghāhad. He possesses some talent. He works hard in order to collect wealth and spends it in a genial way. In the *Tabaqat* he is thus described: 'He was a *Mashhadī* and was brought up in Transoxiana. He passed many years in the service of the emperor. He wrote the *Nasta'liq* script well. He held broad views on religion. He composed a *dīwan*'.

² A city of Khurasan, the native town of Firdausi and of his master, Hākim Asadi.

" What though I be alone with thee in lovers' meeting ?
 Thy modesty repels me more than a thousand watchers."

Another couplet by Qāsim-i-Arsalān—

" Both letter and spirit of my reading mourn my lot,
 Without thee how can I keep my regard intent on my book ? "

" As we passed weeping to the loved one's dwelling,
 A hundred times in each step we crossed a river of tears."

He has written the following verse descriptive of the mountain of Ajmīr, the holy burial place of the *Kh'āja*, the pole-star of pole-stars, *Kh'āja Mu'inu-d-din-i-Ajmīri-yi-Cishtī* (may his tomb be hallowed!):—

" Lo ! The mountain of Ajmīr, a mountain of ambergris,
 The lodging of the chief of the leaders of Cisht.
 What hill is this, that when it raises its head to the empy-
 rean,
 Has the ocean of the sky no higher than its midst ?
 The bodies of the sun and moon appear
 From that hill no larger than the eagle's eye.¹
 Fountains there are therein, like to the sun in brilliancy,
 Their sand ² is the starry host of heaven,
 Heaven's eagle ³ winged his flight,
 To seek its summit, but his flight fell short.
 Should but a stone be loosened from that fort,
 It would in its downward course loosen the strongholds of
 heaven from their foundations.
 That darting brilliance which issues from the clouds is not
 lightning,
 It is nought but the sword-like summit of that mountain
 striking the sky.

¹ i.e., so great a distance are they below it.

² The text has دیگ ('colour'). I follow the MSS., both of which have

دیگ ('sand').

³ نسر طائور ('the flying eagle'). The constellation Aquila.

Glancing from that mountain foot the beholder sees
 The sky as a clear pool, and the moon as the fish's¹ eye
 The torrents which rush down from that awful stronghold
 would carry away a thousand hills such as Alwind and
 Alburz²

When the eagle rises from the vase of the fortress walls
 His shadow falls on the moon and sun
 Arsalān behold the loftiness of its mere foundations!
 The sun seeks protection beneath their shadow

The *Mulla* in the year in which the emperor returned from
 Ātak took up his dwelling in Lahor. He died in the year II 995
 (A.D. 1587) ——————

I should state here that the three or four poets whose biographies I have already given have been mentioned first on account of the fame which they acquired as poets only, and of the ill luck which they brought with them to the world as they occupied in my mind and in no particular order. Henceforward for ready reference and for the sake of method I shall mention the poets in the alphabetical order of their poetical names.

V Arashī of QANDAHAR³

He came to Hindustan with the Emperor Bahār and was at first a *rājapahnavī*⁴. Subsequently, in the service of his late Majesty also he held several high posts, and died in Lahor in the year II 973 (A.D. 1565-66). Some of his verses are the following —

In thine absence my tears by degrees became a sea,
 behold!

Come, sit in my eye as in a boat and make a voyage of the
 sea!"

¹ The 'fish' here signifies the constellation Pisces.

² Alwind is a high mountain in Hamādān. Alburz is either mount Alburz in the Caucasus (18 673 feet) or the Alburz mountains between Mazandaran and Ibrān the highest point in which is mount Damavand (19 400 feet).

³ *Itashī* is not mentioned as a poet in the *Īmār* or in the *Tābaqat*.

⁴ A news writer.

"Aye, have a dagger at thy waist, a sword in thy hand, a
frown on thy brow,
Thirst for blood and be cruel and still implacable."

181 "What can one do with one who knows nought of those who
are faithful ?
What can one do with one whose body shines as silver and
who still inclines to wrath ?"

"The crescent moon shines in the gloaming on the eve of
'Id,¹
Setting us free to haste to seek a cup of rosy wine."

At the time when his late Majesty recovered from his indisposition in the Fort of Victory, this poet composed the following quatrain:—

"A thousand thanks to God, that His Majesty the Emperor is
freed from the sorrow of sickness,
That he has arisen and seated himself once more on the
throne of his glory.
The news of his recovery was conveyed to me by the words,
'Thanks be to God that His Majesty has recovered.' "

VI. ASHRAF KHĀN, MĪR MUNSHĪ.²

He was a Ḥusainī *Sayyid* of the holy city of Mashhad. He was well qualified to instruct the best calligraphists of the world

¹ The appearance of the new moon on the evening of Shawwāl 1, or, as we should say, on the evening of the last day of Ramazān, is the signal for the breaking of the thirty days' fast. The Musalmāns reckon their days as do the Jews, from sunset to sunset. The '*Īdu-l-Fitr*' is the festival at the end of the fast.

² Muḥammad Aṣghar, a Ḥusainī Sayyid of Sabzavār, according to the *Aīn* (i, 389), but of Mashhad, according to the *Ma'āṣiru-l-Umarā* and the *Mir'ātu-l-Ālam*. Ashraf was a clever writer, exact in his style, and a renowned calligrapher, who improved the *Ta'līq* very much. He also understood *jafar*, or witchcraft. He was in Hnmāyūn's service, and had received

in the seven different styles of penmanship. He was one of the most trusted among the nobles, and it is a pity that he should have merited the name of poet, but since he had natural poetical ability, the following verses of his are quoted —

“ Before I have received a single cup from the hand of the cup-hearer of fate,

The stone of reproach strikes my wine jar. What can I do ? ”

“ We are those in this world whose hearts are sad
A heart as sad as our own we know not of

A Quatrain

“ O, Lord ! consume me not in the fire of Thy wrath ! 182
But light the lamp of truth within the house of my heart,
And as for this robe of life which hangs torn on my body,
Of Thy mercy stitch it again with the thread of forgiveness ”

Another Quatrain

“ Free from the alloy and like fine gold came love from the assay,

Well were it to spend the cash of our lives in the business of love

Since the expanse of thy beauty blossomed like the rose,
The thorne of love have pierced my breast as that of the nightingale is pierced ”

VII AMIR QAZI, ASIRI¹

He possessed both learning and accomplishments. For some years he studied under Hukimu l-Mulk, and was the best of all his

from him the post and title of *Mir Munshi*. At Akbar's succession he was in Dihli, and took part in the battle against Hemu. He was imprisoned by Bairam, but escaped and went to Maklah. He returned in A.D. 968 (A.D. 1560-61) when Akbar was in Machiwara on his way to the Siwaliks, where Bairam was. He was well received and got a mansab. In the following year Akbar bestowed on him the title of *Ashraf Khan*. In 1574 he went with Mumim to Bengal and died at Gaur in 1575.

¹ Called in the *Tabaqat Mir Ghazali*, Asiri Abu l-Kasim in the *Am* (1, 500).

pupils. He was one of the most entertaining men of his time. As the climate of India did not suit him, and as he obtained no real promotion in the imperial service, in spite of his having been admitted to the circle of His Majesty's intimates, he went at length to his own country, and in the city of Rai, the native place of his ancestors, he obtained rest from the toils of the world and departed this life. The following verses are quoted as an indication of the copiousness of his imagination :—

“The jealous watcher himself has been our intermediary,
while I suspected no fraud,
He has been enabled to interpose between us his own condi-
tions.”

“Twas but yesterday that my loved one derided my piteous
lot,
My grief and her derision were plain to see.”

“To-day has my heart’s anguish grown more acute,
For to-day it seems that my loved one is more than ever
bent on my destruction.”

“I am wounded to the heart by the arrow of a fair boy to
whose hands time
Has not yet delivered a bow to sport withal.”

“The hope of union with thee forbade me to surrender my
life,
Else I would gladly have died when I parted from thee.”

“I lament the presence of others when that silver-bodied
one draws nigh,
It would seem that my tongue breaks into speech from
constancy to her.”

says that his name was Amīr Qāzī and that he came from Rai, near Tīhrān.
He adds, ‘he is a man of education.’

"The vest of union with her never leaves my heart,
For she spoke with me in graceful coquetry and looked for
my coming"

VIII. MIR IMĀMĪ, KNOWN AS MUGHBĀCA¹

He was a *Sayyid* of Kābul. In the year II. 981 (A.D. 1573-74) he fell from his horse in Jannpūr, and died of the injuries which he received. He wrote a *dīwān* and the following chronogram which he composed on the death of a graceful boy of rare beauty, named Sultan Caghtāī, is well known

"Sultān Caghtāī was the rose of the garden of beauty,
But death was his guide to the garden of Rizwān.²
In the season of roses he set forth to journey from this
garden,
Many hearts in mourning for him were drenched with their
blood
I asked of the mourning nightingale the date of his death,
He broke into lamentations and said, "The rose has left the
garden!"³

"How shall I compare thy stature to the letter *alif*, O palm-¹⁸⁴
tree of life?
For *alif* is quiescent⁴ while thy graceful form is ever in
motion"

¹ Both the text and the MSS. have آغا (manahca), which is meaningless and etymologically improbable. I venture to substitute آغا, 'the Magian boy'

² The keeper of the garden of Paradise

³ This chronogram is an enigma. The numerical value of آب ('garden') is 1003 and of آن ('the rose') 50. If 'the rose' be taken from 'the garden', 953 (A.D. 1546-47) remains. This, then, is the date of Sultan Caghtāī's death.

⁴ A grammatical conceit. *Alif* is quiescent (*i.e.* carries no vowel) until it is strengthened by *hamsah*.

" My heart in thinking on that sweet mouth is in the straits
of perturbation,
Perturbation has confronted it from the place in which it is
bred."

" Never do I forget thee, possessor of all sweet attributes.
Though thou forget me, yet do I never forget thee."

A Quatrain.

" For the proof of His existence what need is there of words,
Since He is all in all, both of what is manifest and what is
hidden ?
They tell me to open my mouth in denial of all that is apart
from Him ;
But what shall I deny ? Where is there a trace of ought
that is apart from Him ? " ¹

Another Quatrain.

" The juggler who sits on the prayer-mat of the blue expanse
of sky
Shines in the morning with the mark of piety on his face,
At midday he straightens himself up in prayer,
And when he, the leader of the prayers, made his inclina-
tion, the rest prostrated themselves." ²

IX. MĪR SHARĪF-I-AMĀNĪ, OF ISFAHĀN.³

He wrote charming verses. He spent twenty years of his life in India, living in religious retirement. The following verses are from his pen :—

" The flood of my tears rushed towards her dwelling,
To wash the dust of strangers' feet from her threshold."

¹ This quatrain sets forth the pantheism of the *Sūfīs*.

² The sun's daily course is likened to the ritual prayers.

³ Amānī is not mentioned in the *Āin-i-Akbarī* as a poet. In the *Tubaqāt* he is called Mīr Amānī, and one of his couplets is quoted, but no other account of him is given.

The water of life is but a type of thy ruby lips,
Where is *a Khizr*¹ to give his life in keen desire for them?" 185

"Like *Amānī*, in the desire of losing my head by a stroke of
thy sword

I have entered the ranks of the army (of thy lovers) with
neught but my life for my shield"

"It is not the presence of the stranger in thine assemblies to
which I object,

But thy friendly glances for the stranger which I cannot
endure."

X. QAZI AHMAD-I-GHAFFĀRĪ OF QĀZVĪN²

He was a son of Imām Najmān-d din 'Abdu-l-Ghaffārī, who was the author of a compendium of the Shāfi'i³ doctrines. In learning, in elegance of literary style, in knowledge of history, and in geniality of disposition he was unrivalled. He wrote the *Nigāristān*,⁴ a compendium the like of which has not been produced by the wit of anybody in this age, and wherein are related wondrous circumstances and strange occurrences. He also wrote the book *Naskh-i-Jahān-Ard*,⁵ the date of the composition of which is given by the title. It is a curious history of the world from the time of Adam to the days of his holiness the seal of prophecy (may God bless and save him!) The Qāzī towards the end of his life gave up the office of *qazīr*, which he held under the princes of 'Irāq, and after his resignation proceeded on a pilgrimage to the

1 The guardian of the water of life

2 Qazi Ahmad is not mentioned as a poet either in the *Ām-i-Albārī*, or in the *Tabaqat*

3 The school of jurisprudence founded by Imām Shāfi'i, one of the four great *Sunnī* doctors of the law

4 'The Picture Gallery' There is a MS of a *Nigāristān* by Ibn-i-Muham-mad Ahmad (No. ^m 142) in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal

5 I have not been able to find any other mention of this work. The title gives the date 971 (A.D. 1563-64)

holy place (Makkah). After attaining the felicity of performing this pilgrimage he came to Hindūstān by way of the port of Dābul,¹ when the hand of fate, suddenly loosing the cord of the existence of that incomparable man, led him to the world of immortality. This occurred in the year H. 975 (A.D. 1567-68).

The following couplet is by him :—

“ If that fair tyrant sit by me, after a lifetime of expectancy,
My heart will flutter in my breast, lest she should rise too
soon.”

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XI. MĪR ASHKĪ OF QUM.²

In his poetry he displayed a pleasing fertility of imagination, and he was an imitator of Āṣafī. In Agra he placed the baggage for his journey to the next world on the back of Death's swift steed. I append some of his verses.

“ He whose bosom is rent with grief in thine absence beat his head with a stone so violently
That the stone became nought but a handful of dust in his grasp.”

¹ Both the text and the MSS. have دبُل. The port was Dābul or Dābhol, a famous port on the west coast of India in Muhammadan times. See *Imp. Gazetteer of India*, new series, xi, 100.

² In the *Ain-i-Ākbarī* (i, 598) Abū-l-Fażl says, ‘Ashkī of Qum is a Tabātabā’ī Sayyid, and is a poet of some talent.’ The Tabātabā’ī Sayyids are the descendants of the great-great-grandson of ‘Ali, Ismā’īl bin Ibrāhīm, called Tabātabā from a defect in his speech which caused him to pronounce the letter چ like ل.

From the *Haft Iqlīm* we learn that Mīr Ashkī was the son of Mīr Sayyid ‘Alī, Muḥtasib (public censor) of Qum in Persia. Ashkī’s elder brother, Huṇūrī, was also known as a poet. Ashkī was attracted to India by the fame and success of Ghazālī, but he did not meet Ghazālī. The number of his verses exceeded 10,000; and when on his death-bed he gave his several *divāns* to Mīr Jndā’ī to arrange. Mīr Jndā’ī, however, published whatever he thought good in his own name, and threw the remainder into water. *Vide infra* No. XXXII. Dāghistānī says that Ashkī died in Mīr Jndā’ī’s house, and he ascribes the epigram to Ghazālī; but as he only quotes a hemistich the statement of the contemporary *Haft Iqlīm* is preferable.

In grief at thine absence I will smite my head, wretched
being that I am, with a stone

Should my hand fail of its office I will strike my head upon
the stone'

'I, thy candle, O my King, am a slave like Nasau,
Though decapitated a hundred times I yet live

'Those slain by thy cruelty he scattered here and there like
drunken men

It would seem that thy sword was tempered with wine in
stead of water

'So much has my body melted away in grief at thine absence
That if thou castest a chain on my neck it falls about my
feet

It is said that when he recited this last pairing couplet before
Maulana Sabiq in Qandhar, and sought his approbation the
Maulana said, "You have stolen this idea from Amir Khusrau of
Dihill, who says—

'So much has my mournful body melted in thine absence
That if thou placest a collar about my neck it falls to my
feet'"

Another Couplet by Ashki

If I would fall in following thee smitten with the stone
of calamity,

Stones rain upon me from every hand on my head prevent 187
ing me from falling

Ashki seems to have used the metaphor of the stone so much as
to leave nothing else for others to say upon the subject

See my feeble body among the dogs of thy street
This one drags it no way that one in the

My hair hangs dishevelled from my head down to my feet
My body appears in the midst of it like a single white hair'

XII. YOL QULI ANISI.¹

He is a Şhamlū Turkman in the service of the Khān-i-Khānān. He writes pleasing poetry and has composed a *mashnavī*. The following verses are his work:—

“ My heart is a fire-temple when I think of thee, and on it
Is thy brand, like a black Hindū who tends the fire.” .

“ When you see a tongue of flame deem it to be a tormented
fire-worshipper

Whose soul has departed, while his body still dances in the
fire-temple.” [heart,

“ Love is like the loadstone, for when its arrow enters the
It cannot be removed till love itself in kindness draws it
forth.”

XIII. MULLA GHANI, AMANI.²

He is a young man in the flower of manhood. He was for a long time in Gujurāt with Khāja Nizām-i-d-din Ahmad, and at first assumed the *nom de plume* of Khaufī, which the Khānājā changed, giving him his present *takhallus*. He is now in the service of His Majesty's eldest son. His disposition is pleasing. The following quatrain is his:—

“ I am one who can treasure up nought but grief;

Although through my enlightenment of soul I am as
conspicuous as the sun
Still I know not how to light the lamp of my own lot

XIV ABRUQ OF BADAKHSHAN

His assumed name accords well with his nature.¹ He has committed to memory, parrot like, some phrases from the *Futuhat* and the *Fusūl-i-Hikim*,² and has striven hard, in a polemical treatise, to establish the good faith of Pharaoh,³ for which reason he has been nicknamed 'Pharaoh's Advocate'. The following is the opening couplet of a *qasidah* by him —

' Thou saudest 'Shall I deal with my slaves faithfully or
cruelly?''

O, impudent one, know that we choose the former'

XV URATTI QUTB KHĀN⁴

He is of the Jān Quibāni tribe.⁵ He is accomplished in learning and the sciences, and is one of the commanders of two thou-

¹ *Abrūq* means 'worthless'.

² See p. 17, note 3 for an account of the *Fusūl-i-Hikim*. There are several works having the word *Futuḥ* or *Futuhat* as part of their titles and I cannot say to which of them Badakshani refers.

³ Probably referring to the passage in Chapter X of the *Qur'ān* in which Pharaoh is said to have said, when drowning in the Red Sea: 'I believe that there is no God but He on whom the children of Israel believe; and I am one of the resigned.'

⁴ Qutb Khān was a pious man, and a staunch Sāfi. He is first mentioned in connection with the siege of Rūrat in Bihār, in 1565. In 1573 he was appointed commandant of Surat, which Akbar had just conquered, with his son as his deputy. In 1576-77 he was sent to Surat to negotiate with the Portuguese. In 1588 he received Sambhal in jayn. In 1593-94 he was made Governor of Kābul, where he was not successful. He was removed and in 1596-97 accompanied his son in law Sulṭān Dāmīyāl, to the Dakhan, as atāiq but soon returned to court. During Akbar's absence in Khāndesh in 1598-99 he was Governor of Agra, in 1600-01 he was promoted to the governorship of the Pānjab and Kabul. At the accession of Jilāngī he was sent to Gujarat, but returned the next year to the Pānjab. He died in 1613. Before he was tutor to Sulṭān Dāmīyāl he was a commander of 4000 but he was then promoted to the command of 4500. See īmār Akbarī, 34, 354, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, 123, and *Jabaqdar-i-Akbari*.

⁵ The MSS. have *Jāni Qurbāni*. The readings are not satisfactory. I have

sand. His faith is orthodox. For some time he held the title of *Jumlatu-l-Mulk*,¹ and is now Governor of the *Sūba* of Kābul. He has poetical genius and facility in writing verse. The following few couplets are by him :—

“ No sooner had my sun cast the veil from off her face
Than the sun appeared no more than a mote in a sunbeam
in motion.
I am slain by that languid narcissus-like eye, which, in its
heaviness,
Has slain a whole world and composed itself to sleep.”

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“ Thy two dark languid eyes² play havoc with my wit and
my faith,
With drawn bows they lie in wait for me in every corner.”

“ It is not the rosebud-like arrow of my slayer that rankles
in my heart,
But my own blood which, while apart from her lips, I have
swallowed, that is clotted in my heart.”

XVI. ULFATI OF YAZD.

He was well skilled in the exact sciences. He was a companion of the *Khān-i-Zamān*, and was captured in his rebellion.³ The emperor spared his life, but death, less merciful, took it from him. The following opening couplets of *qaṣīdahs* are his :—

“ Until like dust I settled on the skirts of the robe of my
beloved,
I had no rest from my wanderings nor ease at my heart.”

not been able to discover a tribe with any such name. Perhaps, *Badāoni* means to say that he was of those who would not hesitate to sacrifice their lives for the emperor.

¹ Qilij *Khān* was twice *dīvān*.

² Literally ‘ Turks,’ a favourite simile.

³ In 1567, see vol. ii, text, 100.

' We are but a handful of ashes but we carry fire in us,
It would be no wonder if we were consumed by the sparks
of our own sighs'

The Khan-i-Zaman gave him a thousand rupees as a reward
for composing this latter couplet

XVII USTAD OF 'IRAQ

He was for some time in Kashmir with Mirza Yusuf Khan,¹
and there he composed a poem on the people of the city in which
he dwelt.² The following couplet occurs in it —

"Sarmadi³ is the squirrel of the tree of the poets
Ho loves the statue of Orion and the feelers of the Crab"

On a youth who was beloved by Mirza Yusuf Khan he wrote
the following couplet —

"Mirza Yusuf, the prince of the age, is in love
He loves thy pure love, but he loves the beauty of others"

XVIII BAHRAM KHAN THE KHAN-i-KHANS⁴

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He was one of the offspring of Mirza Jahan Shah. In wisdom, generosity, sincerity, goodness of disposition, submissiveness, and humility he surpassed all. In early life he was in the service of the emperor Bahai, and in middle age he obtained advancement in the service of emperor Humayun, and received the honourable title of Khan-i-Khanan, and his present Majesty added Babā am⁵ to his titles. He was a great friend to religious, was subject to fits of religious ecstasy, and was a benevolent man. The second

¹ See Im-i-Akbari, i, 315, Mirza Yusuf Khan was appointed to Kashmir in 1587, but resigned four years later. He was subsequently reinstated at the request of Sultan Salim.

² شہر آشوب literally city disturbing. A poem in praise or disparagement of the people of a city.

³ See infra No. Ixii

⁴ See Im-i-Akbari, i, 315, and Balāoni, vol. ii, text p. 188; Balāoni had a great admiration for Bahram Khan, although he was a Shā'ibah.

⁵ 'My father'

conquest of Hindūstān,¹ and the building up of the empire were due to his strenuous efforts, his valour, and his wise policy. Learned men came from all parts of the world to visit him and departed happy in the possession of gifts bestowed by his hand, as open as ocean itself, and his high court, lofty as the sky, was the resort of the lords of learning and all perfect qualities. His existence was, indeed, an honour to the age in which he lived. At last vile hypocrites poisoned the mind of His Majesty against him, until his affairs fell at length into the condition of which a brief description has been given in the chronicle of the reign.² He has composed a *divān* in Persian and Turki which is in every hand, as his verses are on every tongue. This quatrain is his:—

“The masters of self-effacement are both high and low,
It is they who are ever drunkeu with draughts from the cup
of immortality.
Whatever there may be in the plane of non-existence,
Know for certain that it is they alone who truly exist.”

191 “Oh ! Thou whose street is the *Ka'bah*³ of our happiness,
Whose Face is the point towards which we turn in prayer!
Blest will be the time when thou graciously drawest us to
Thyself,
Freeing us from the bonds of ceremonialism and conven-
tionalism !”

He wrote an ode in praise of his holiness ‘Ali, the commander of the faithful (may God be gracious unto his countenance!) of which the following are the opening couplets:—

“Though a king be so great that his crown towers over the
nine heavens,
If he be not the slave of ‘Ali let dust be cast upon his head.
Hope not for love for the king of men from one who knows
not his own father,
Cujus matris ignominiam discooperiut alienus.”

¹ i.e., on Humāyūn's return from Persia. Bābar's was the 'first' conquest.

² Vol. ii.

³ The temple of Makkah ; here used by a trope for any object of desire.

The following is the commencement of a *qasidah* which he wrote on the astrolabe —

' What globe is this whose axis rests on the centre (of the universe),

This full moon across whose midst the meteors drift?

Though it counts itself the equal of both sun and moon

It gladly envies itself among the emperor's slaves

The sun's resplendent orb looms not so hugely in our eyes

As the crescents which surmount the banners of the world
famed king of kings—

Both sky and earth are ever subject to his authority,

Like the seal of a ring on the hand of a monarch is power-
ful is Jamshid

This globe hangs with it a golden tray full of *ashrafs*

To scatter before the feet of great kings,

The feet of the emperor of exalted dignity, Humayun, 192

before whom, in order to obtain honour

The sky itself places the head of humanity on the threshold
of the Court'

They relate that the emperor Humayun was one night in conversation with Burum Khān, who was overcome by drowsiness. His Majesty reprovingly said, 'Ha Burum Khan! It is to you that I am speaking.' He replied, 'Yes, sire, I am attentive, but since I have heard that in the service of kings a watch should be kept over the eyes, and among *darvishes* a watch should be kept over the heart, and among learned men a watch should be kept over the tongue. I was just pondering over which I should keep a watch for Your Majesty is a King, a *lارویش*, and a learned man.' His late Majesty was much pleased with this seemly reply, and expressed his approval of it.

Burum Khān obtained the blessing of martyrdom¹ at Patan in Gujarat in the year A.D. 968 (A.H. 1561) and his bones were, in accordance with his will, taken to Mashhad.

¹ He was murdered by Mubariz Khan an Afghān see vol. II text, 45. He is accounted a martyr because he was on his way to Makkah when he was killed.

XIX. BIKASĪ OF GHAZNĪ.

He was known for his varied attainments and numerous accomplishments. He had performed the pilgrimage to the two holy places, Makkah and Madinah, and afterwards came to India. In Arabia he had studied some of the books of traditions such as the *Mishkāt*,¹ and the *Shamā'ilu-n-Nabi*² (may God bless and preserve the prophet!) under Mīr Murtazā-yi-Sharīfī³ and others. Being overcome by the weakness of old age he set out for his beloved native land, his original home, and while halting at Peshāwar on his way thither he heard the cry, "Return to Me!" from the lips of the Angel of Death, and in A.H. 973 (A.D. 1565-66) he withdrew to the Presence of the Merciful God.

The following verses are some of the relies of his copious imagination.

193 "Whether in the idol-temple or in the *Ka'bah* I have looked
to none but Thee,
Wherever I have been I have never been forgetful of
Thee."

"It is not in our age alone that the sky (fate) has been
pitiless,
Since its revolutions first began it has been both pitiless
and faithless."

"Though *Bikasī* should hear the reproaches of his enemies
a hundred times,
'It were fitting that he should not allow them to vex or
disturb him,
For the following perfect couplet is well known throughout
the world :
And why, indeed, should not such a couplet have world-
wide fame?

¹ The *Mishkātu-l-Maṣābiḥ*. See vol. i, trans. Ranking, p. 58, note 3, *et passim*.

² Apparently the same as the *Shamā'ilu-l-Muhammadīyyah*. See vol. i, 625, note 6.

³ See below, No. cxxi.

'Though the worthless stone crush the golden vase
 The worth of the stone is not increased nor is that of the
 gold diminished "

Quatrain

'Oh heart, give not the rein to thine anguish and grief !
 Forgo not one moment of true delight for all the dominion
 of Jamshid
 Should a loved one fall to thy lot, see well
 That thou exchange not the dust of her footsteps for all
 that both worlds can give '

Mulana Bikash writes that one day the late emperor Humayun wrote in his own graceful handwriting over the niche of the perch of his palace in the royal residence of Dihli the following couplet by Shihab Azam —

"I have heard that on this gilded dome
 Is written At last the actions of all become praiseworthy "

The emperor was fated shortly afterwards to leave this narrow dwelling of deception for the sweet abode of bliss,¹ and owing to the exigencies of the time that very palace was utilized as his tomb, and since this action of that enlightened king was attributed to miraculous prevision the chronogram for that event, contained in the following verses, was widely quoted at the time —

"When the Emperor Humayun shortly before he died
 Wrote on the door of the dwelling in which he lived,
 'It is written that at the last the actions of all become praiseworthy,'

He referred prophetically to his own righteous end,
 And when that dwelling by the decree of fate became his
 tomb

It became the point towards which all turn in prayer, and
 the *Ka'bah* of their desires

¹ On Rabia I awwal 15, A H 963 (Jan 28 1556) See vol 1, trans
 Ranking pp 600-602 *Fir sita* places his death four days earlier, but
 Badaoni is the better authority

For this reason I give the following chronogram for his death,

'The foundation of the dwelling¹ of the Sultān whose end was praiseworthy.'

XX. BĀQI OF KOLĀB.²

He had a natural talent for poetry. The following verses are his:—

"In thine absence I am the slave of a hundred griefs,
Do thou rejoice since I am overwhelmed with anguish."

—
"Although the fair to-day do not know my worth,
They will know it to-morrow when I shall be no more."

—
"My eyes are suffused sometimes with my heart's blood,
sometimes with blood from my liver,
To me, the wretched one far from her face, even the way
of sight is closed."

—
"He never becomes liberal like the cypress in the garden of
the world,
Who, like the narcissus, fixes his eyes always in covetous-
ness on silver and gold."

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Bāqī was a long time in Hindūstān and was killed during the rebellion of Ma'sūm the Kābulī.³

XXI. BAYĀZĪ.

He lived in Agra after the fashion of humble men and the style of bygone days. This opening couplet of a *qaṣidah* is his:—

بَنِي مَنْزِل سُلْطَانِ عَاقِبَتِ مَعْمُودٍ¹. The chronogram is not quite clear. As it stands it gives the total 1002. If we remove ب which is the first letter of مَنْزِل, and therefore 'the foundation of the dwelling' which is, perhaps, what the poet intended, we get 962—one year short.

² Kolāb (now more correctly *Kūlāb*) is the name of a town and district in Bādākhshān. ³ At Jaunpūr in 1579. See vol. ii, text, p. 276.

"Whoever enjoys the fruits of union with that jasmin-bodied cypress

Owes it to his good fortune. It is his good fortune that enjoys the fruit"

On the discussion raised by Kāhi and Ghazāli¹ he wrote the following quatrain --

"Kāhi and Ghazāli, those two drunken fools,
Have put hand to pen to belittle Jāmī² and Nava'ī³
There has been nobody like them in the world,
For Kāhi⁴ is nought but straw and Ghazāli⁵ is nought but a dog."

XXII. PAIRAVI⁶

He is for the most part an imitator⁷ of Khāja Aṣafī. He is a skilful painter and has attained by means of studying the outward form to hidden truths, and has written on outward form and hidden essence a poetical treatise which begins as follows --

"O Lord, I am unable to grasp hidden truth!
Forgive me, for I am too much a worshipper of the outward form
Of thy grace, O most Pure God!
Thou hast so fashioned the outward form of our earthly tabernacles
That every (fair) form which I see
Points out to me the way to the hidden truths of Thine 196
Essence."

¹ See above, Nos II and I

² The great Persian poet, Muṣṭafā 'Abdu r-Rahmān i Jāmī.

³ See below, No CLVI

⁴ Kāhi signifies 'strawy'

⁵ Ghazāl signifies a 'gazelle' or 'antelope,' and ghazāli, the adjective derived from it, might be applied to a hound used for hunting that animal.

⁶ He is thus described in the *Amr-i-Akbari* (i, 600) 'Pairavi of Siwa.' His name is Amir Beg. He was a good painter.

⁷ This is a pun on his *takhallus* پارا (pairat) means 'a follower,' 'an imitator.'

Other Verses.

"When is the wine of love given to him who suffers no pain?

Love for the beautiful is a state of exhilaration. To whose lot does it fall?"

"In my dream I saw her sitting with the jealous watcher, and my heart was perturbed.

Had I at that moment awoken from my dream I should have died, but died too late."

"When I cast a glance at her moonlike face, even while I am looking,

She glowers at me angrily, to bid me not to gaze at her."

"I steal a glance at that graceful one,

And when she looks towards me, I look downwards to the ground in shame."

"The child of my tears took his way in the road of my beloved,

Like a sweet orphan he put his foot forward in this path; But the delicate child was unable to endure love's tyranny, And called my beloved cruel and faithless."

"I am perturbed when she is away from me,

Lest my moon-faced darling should fall in love with another."

Pairavī wrote a complete *dīvān* of *ghazals*. He died in Hindūstān.

XXIII BAQĀ'I.¹

On first leaving his native land he went to the Dakan, where he was with Malik Qumi, the poet. Then he went to Gujarāt and was there with Muzā Nizāmu d dm Ahmad,² adopting the *nom-de-plume* of *Mashghuli*. The Mirzā changed it, giving him 197 his present *nom-de-plume*. His poetry is good, and since it is easy and flowing I quote the following excerpts —

“ When love made the eyelashes of the fair ones a lancet,
 It caused the blood to flow from my arteries and veins,
 Alas, that before I could close my eyes the arrow of
 thought of the loved one
 Penetrated my eye and thence pierced my heart ”

“ In place of tears my wounded heart itself drops piecemeal
 from my eyes,
 From this fiery cloud all the blood of my liver rains down.”

“ So long as the bird of my heart was the prey of that
 hunter,
 Each separate hair of my head rose up as a bird rising to
 flight ”

Baqā'i has now left the service of the Khān-i-Khānān,³ and they say that he has come to Āgra and intends to go to Lāhōr.

XXIV MULĀ NŪR-U-D DÍN MUHAMMAD-I TĀRĪKHĀN⁴

He was called Safidoni, and assumed the name of *Nūri* as his *nom-de-plume*. Since he held the *pargana* of Safidoni in the

¹ Baqā'i was evidently alive when Badiām completed this history in A.D. 1004 (A.D. 1596). He must not, therefore, be confounded with the Baqā'i mentioned in the *Tabaqat-i-Akbarī* under Halati (Yādgār) No. XLII, who was executed for murdering his father.

² Author of the *Tabaqat-i-Akbarī*.

³ Mirzā 'Abdu r Rahmān.

⁴ See No. LXIX, chapter II.

1. Tarkhan was a King! title which was hereditarily for nine generations and carried with it extraordinary privileges (vide Am Abbott, 1864). From these verses it would appear that Nurn and dim claimed to be a Tarkhan by hereditary right, whereas Akbar bestowed on him first the title of Khan and then that of Takhān, the latter, however, merely as an honorary title, with out any of the substantial privileges formerly attached to it. The same was evidently the case with his earlier title of Khan.

2. This is a clever poem „ (ar) means „most“ The poet says that he had nothing but waste lands with his title of Khan, but that when he was made Tarkhan what little moisture there was in these lands seemed to evaporate.

The **Tz'u-han**, when the Emperor was marching against Hu-tchin
Alviza in A.D. 989 (A.D. 1581), remained behind and returned from
the Pan-ja-ho to his own *Yagir*, a line of conduct which excited
picion against him, so that after the Emperor's return from this
expedition he was summoned to Fashupu, there to be called to
account for his monetary transactions and his writings, to be iced
pruned, and deprived of his title. In this manner, he was
persecuted for some years. Those who were qualified to dis-

In this kindness and generosity
The most just King conferred on *Tai Khan*! the title *Khan*
Of this *Khan* ate he possesses the name alone
From this name, however full of dignity, what does he gain?
Nay more, he makes this complaint of the *ruler* who is also
Before the King's perfect wisdom,
That besides the "Leban" nothing but desert lands seems to
remain to him,
While with his *taikhan-ate moisture*, seems to disappear
from them altogether.

my collar”

Like the rose hand I’m sitting with my head cast down to
“Sad at heart am I sitting, in from those smiling lips,
excerpts from his poems —

sarkar of Sirhind¹ as a *jāgīr* for some years. He was spoken of as though he had been a native of that place. He was distinguished for his attainments in geometry, the exact sciences, and astrology, and was one of the intimate companions of the late emperor, obtaining the title of *Tarkhān* in the course of his confidential association with him. He was unequalled in liberality, generosity, munificence and conviviality, for which qualities he was proverbial. He had poetic talent too, and composed a *dīvīn*. One day on the polo-ground at Fathpūr he was injured by an elephant, and was in great pain. While in this condition he continued to repeat, "Be my witnesses, all of you, that in my present uneasiness I repent of some of my former acts and am resolved to amend my ways." However much he was pressed on the subject he would not say what those particular acts were of which he repented. I said, "The first thing of which you will have repented will surely be the writing of poetry." I do not know whether he was pleased with my suggestion, or annoyed, but the others who were present were much pleased. In the days of his authority he dug a canal from the Jamna, fifty *kurūh* in length, in the direction of Karnāl, and beyond that town. This was the cause of large additions to the cultivated area, and a great increase in the prosperity of the people. As it was dug in the name of the prince Sultān Salīm, it was called *Shaikhūnai*,² which word gives a chronogram for the date of its completion. *Nai* in Hindi means "a stream." At length cruel fate brought utter ruin upon him so that he endured many hardships and privations. When His Majesty in A.H. 994 (A.D. 1586) departed for Āṭak he appointed Mullā Nūru-d-dīn to

¹ No *pargana* of this name is mentioned in the account of the sarkār of Sirhind on pp. 295, 296 of vol. ii of the *Aīn-i-Akbarī*. Safidou is now a town in the Jind State and *tāhsil* in the Panjab. See *Imp. Gazetteer of India*, new series, xxi, 349.

² The text and the MSS. have *Shikhnai*, which is wrong, for the numerical values of its letters give the total 967, ten years before the birth of Salīm (Jahāngīr), who was born in A.H. 977 (A.D. 1569); we must, therefore, read *Shaikhūnai*, which not only gives the correct date, but also contains the name of Salīm, whose father called him by the pet name of *Shaikhū*, deeming him to have been granted to the prayers of *Shaikh Salīm-i-Cishtī*.

the trusteeship of the tomb of the late Emperor in the imperial city of Delhi, and there the *Mulla* died. The following verses are excerpts from his poems —

" Sad at heart am I sitting, far from those smiling lips,
Like the rose bud am I sitting, with my head cast down to
my collar "

" In his kindness and generosity
The most just King conferred on *Tar Khān*¹ the title *Khān*
Of this *Khān* ate he possesses the name alone
From this name, however full of dignity, what does he gain?
Nay more, he makes this complaint of the *tar Khān* also
Before the King's perfect wisdom,
That besides the " *Khān* " nothing but desert lands seems to
remain to him,
While with his *tar Khān* ate moisture² seems to disappear
from them altogether "

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The *Khān*, when the Emperor was marching against Hakim Mirzā in A.D. 989 (A.D. 1581), remained behind and returned from the Panjab to his own *jagir*, a line of conduct which excited suspicion against him, so that after the Emperor's return from this expedition he was summoned to Fathpur, there to be called to account for his monetary transactions and his writings, to be impeached, and deprived of his title. In this manner, he was persecuted for some years. Those who were qualified to dis-

¹ *Tarkhān* was a Mughal title which was hereditary for nine generations and carried with it extraordinary privileges (vide *Ain-i-Akbari*, i, 364). From these verses it would appear that Nūr ud-din claimed to be a *Tarkhan* by hereditary right, whereas Akbar bestowed on him first the title of *Khan* and then that of *Tarkhān*, the latter, however, merely as an honorary title, without any of the substantial privileges formerly attached to it. The same was evidently the case with his earlier title of *Khan*.

² This is a clever poem. *Jār* (tar) means 'moist'. The poet says that he had nothing but waste lands with his title of *Khān*, but that when he was made *tar-Khan* what little moisture there was in these lands seemed to evaporate.

criminate attribute his ruin to the impropriety of which he was guilty in lampooning the officials in the imperial city of Dihlī, wherein he was actuated solely by the enmity which he bore to Tātār Khān.¹ The satire which he wrote he chose to attribute to Qāsim-i-Kāhī, publishing it as the work of that poet. The grounds upon which his satire was based will be best defined by quoting from the effusion.

“ Miyān Jamāl Khān² is the *muftī* of Dihlī,
 But he never yet delivered one of his foolish judgments
 gratis;³
 He is the Governor of the city under Tātār Khān,
 And has just such another little donkey’s face as his master’s.
Shaikh Hasan the little decree-writer with his poisoned pen
 Spreads on all sides false news and slanderous whispers.
 At the very time of prayer he performs, in a perfunctory
 manner, his ceremonial ablutions
 When the reader has already ascended the pulpit,
 It is he, it is he, it is he that oppresses the city,
 A vain babbler, with his harlots ”⁴

The opening couplet of that effusion, which even to quote is scurrility, is as follows:

“ Alas, for Dihli and its holy shrines,
 Alas, for the ruin of its palaces !”

This satire extends to nearly two hundred and fifty couplets. One of the learned men of that city, Shaikh Muḥammad Kambū⁵

¹ Kh’āja Tāhir Muḥammad, a Khurāsānī. He was a commander of a thousand. He was made Governor of Dihlī in 1563-64, and died there in 1578.

² See Chapter II, No. VI.

³ This is another pun. The word for *gratis* is मुफ्त (*muftī*).

⁴ The second hemistichs of all these couplets, and the first hemistich of one of them, end in words to which absurd terminations, imitating the Arabic possessive pronouns, have been appended. The same remark applies to the opening couplet which follows.

⁵ A fellow clansman of the *muftī* who had been satirized.

by name, wrote an answer to the whole of it in the following two¹ couplets —

"Nūru d dīn is such a blockhead

That it must have been in folly that his father hecat the fool 200

The babbling dolt has been struck on the head with a mallet,

There is no (need to) answer his foolish chatter!"

Priso be to God! These verses are equal to² that world-famed fragment of the lord Maulānā Nūru d dīn 'Abdu'l Rāhmān i Jāmī (my lug tomb be hallowed!), the opening verses of which are given below —

'Alas for the Love of God, and its ecstasy,

It has consumed my heart with its searching heat

My eye never glanced towards aught but God

My lot is cast with God and with His revelations!"

The worthy Maulānā Nūru d dīn fancied himself a second Jāmī, both as a story-teller and as a stylist. But how can there be any comparison between the two?

"If in your actions you resemble not the virtuous, of what use is it to resemble them in name?

"One who bore the title of Māsih fostered sight to him who was blind from his mother's womb, but another Māsih had himself but one eye!"

It is to be hoped, however, that as he was not without natural goodness of disposition, he repented of his evil deeds, and that God in His gracious mercy allowed his tribulation and suffering in this world to be an expiation of his sins. May God forgive him. When the Maulānā, after being put down from his high place, came to Agra, I was walking in the public market one day, and met him. One of my friends, the genial and witty Miyan Kamalū d dīn Hnsūn of Shīrāz,³ who was one of the leading men in Āgra, said to him, "Well, my lord Nawwab, you have written something regarding the officials in Dihlī, and now why should you not

¹ The text and the MSS. have 'One couplet' though two are given.

² Badroni seems to mean that their form was copied from Jami's *qit'ah*.

³ See Chapter II No XLII.

bestow the same favour on the officials in Agra, who expect it of you!" I said, "Evidently he has seen nothing in the leading men of Agra which renders them worthy of this honour." Miyān Kamālu-dīn laughed and said, "This is a false charge which you have brought against us."

XXV. TARDI, *Rūda*.

He is a native of Transoxiana and is a witty man. He was with Mīrzāyān Ulngh Mīrzā¹ at the time when the Mīrzās captured the fort of Bahroc, and wrote the following quatrain on the event:—

201 "The Timurides are unequalled in valour,
Victory smiles on them whithersoever they turn,
When they took Bahroc by storm
This chronogram was found for the event, 'They captured
Bahroc.'"²

XXVI. TAUSANI.

His name is Manohar and he is the son of Lon Karan, Rūjā of Sūmbhar,³ a famous salt tract. It may be that the "Attic salt" of his verses is the effect of his native land. He possesses wonderful personal beauty and extraordinary intellectual power. He was called at first "Muhammad Manohar," and afterwards received the title of Mīrzā Manohar. His father, in spite of his infidelity, used, by way of honouring and distinguishing him, to glory in calling him Muhammad Manohar. Although he was not acceptable to the emperor he has poetic genius. These verses are his:—

"The Shaikh is boastful of his religion, the Brahman brags of his idolatry:

He who is intoxicated with the beauty of the Friend has naught to do with idolatry or religion."

¹ Akbar's distant cousin. He is distinguished by the honorific plural Mīrzāyān, probably because he was the head of the House of Timūr.

² The chronogram (کوہنہ باروج) gives the date A.H. 980 = A.D. 72-73.

³ Sumbhar, a famous salt lake in Rājputāna, in the borders of the Jodhpur and Jaipur States, lying between 20° 53' and 27° 1' N. and 74° 54' E.

Quatrain

'Without the love of Thee the liver is filled to the brim with
fire,

Without the pain of longing for Thee the thorn is sunk deep
in my brain.

The idol temple and the *Ka'bah*¹ alike mean naught to me
but infidelity.

My concern is only with the One ness of God

When thou gavest him his *takhallus* (poetical name) he recited
these few complets —

"O thou who sippest *sharbat*, visit the assembly of us who
drink the lees!²

For our livers supply us with roast meat, and the wine
cup is filled with our heart's blood

It is shameful for men to make mention of soul or heart in
the case of love³ 202

But our hearts are like congealed blood and our souls are
like the bitter blast

Tausani,⁴ give rein to the steed of desire in the field of love
Thou shalt safely attain thy desire with Akbar for thy
guide"

Since a Hindu⁵ had so much poetic genius and ecstatic feel-
ing⁶ I have recorded those verses

XXVII TAZARVI OF ABHAR

He was sister's son to Maulānā Nargisi, and, in accordance with
the saying, "the true son resembles his maternal uncle," he was
distinguished by his wit and the strength of his intellect. He

¹ The temple of Makkah

² Tausan signifies a fiery steed. The appropriateness of the metaphor in this
verse is apparent

³ The author's bigotry would not allow him to regard a Hindu who displayed poetic or religious fervour otherwise than as a freak of nature

⁴ تھاں Both MSS. have تھاں which is meaningless. The reading in
the text is undoubtedly correct

came from Turkey to India in the days of Bairam Khān's supremacy, and profited much by his generosity. He was captured in the battle fought beneath the mountains¹ by Ataga Khān, and was by him paraded before the emperor, as the chief of his gifts, with the banner of the eighth *Imām*, 'Alī-ur-Rizā² (may God accept him). He was very favourably received by the emperor. He composed his treatise on *Beauty and Yūsuf* for Yūsuf Muḥammad Khān,³ the son of Ataga Khān. The opening couplet of the poem is as follows:—

"In the name of Him to whom the face of foe and friend
Is turned, in which direction soever He may be."

He composed some verses descriptive of the members of the beloved, among which are the following couplets:—

"Her face is a mirror, her neck is a shaft of ivory,
Those who are in face like the fairies desire that mirror;
The palm of her hand is, like the sun, a mirror of light,
The fingers of that houri are the rays of the sun
To the eye of understanding the parting of the hair of that
sweet-lipped maid
Is a meteor resplendent in the heart of the night.⁴
Nay, I erred in describing it as a meteor,
Rather is it a stream of fair water traversing a garden of
hyacinths.

¹ This was the battle fought in A.D. 1560 in the Jālandhar Dūāb between the imperial troops under the command of Shams-ud-din Muḥammad, Ataga Khān, and Bairam Khān, in which the latter was defeated. Vide vol. ii, text, p. 40.

² Bairam Khān, a Shi'ah, displayed the banners of the *Imāms* of the Shi'ahs before his troops.

³ Yūsuf Muḥammad Khān, the eldest son of Ataga Khān (Shams-ud-din Muḥammad), was the foster-brother of Akbar. He was only twelve years of age when he distinguished himself in this battle against Bairam Khān. Vide *Jin-i-Akbari*, trans. Blochmann, vol. i, p. 323. He died of excessive drinking in A.D. 1566, at the age of eighteen. Vide vol. ii, text, p. 84.

⁴ In this simile the poet compares the white parting with a meteor and the hair with the blackness of night, and in the simile in the following couplet i.e. compares the former with a sparkling stream and the latter with a garden of dark hyacinths.

Desire fails¹ in its hope of reaching her navel,
 Remaining for ever in the pit of despair
 Desire ever hovers round about her,
 Like the thirsty quail² round about the well
 Above her nose is the palm tree of our desire
 Her arched eyebrows stained with dye
 There grow, in spite of nature's rule
 Two lily petals from a wild rose sprig
 In the eye of that light of my eyes
 There appears, as it were, a drop of dew on a rose
Ocimum pudendum margaritae illius intemeratae,
Lunae velut ere centes duae
 In grace she excels the lily bud
 Tongue placed in palate and lip on lip

He has written in reply to the *Dikhana* of *Imad al-ma'arif* in which the following couplets occur —

'From regret for thy moist³ ruby lip
 And from separation from thy curled locks
 His (the lover's) weak body has dwindled to a han
 In his body there remains no place for his soul
 From vexation and grief his heart is melted to blood,
 He drinks his own blood and draws no breath."

In a description of the morning he has written —

"The ashes of the morning have gone on the breeze,
 Who has caught the cotton of the morning ?"

Couplets

"When my head droops on my knees in separation from that
 faithless one

¹ The words are *دَلَّتْ يَوْمِي* 'hope is severed,' and there is a reference which cannot be well reproduced in translation to the cutting of the umbilical cord.

² Or 'resplendent' 'of fine water' The epithet is applicable alike to a jewel or to a moist lip.

³ That is to say, the cool whiteness of the morning has been dispersed by the fierce rays of the sun.

My body is reduced to a heap of ashes by my burning heart."

"When her cruel sword is raised like a banner to slay me,
I make my complaint of her cruelty, my excuse for falling
at her feet;

For her sake I cheerfully endured the cruelty of the world,
not knowing

How little trust could be placed in her tenderness and
faith."

"In truth the quiltings of the patched woollen robe of
poverty

Bind upon the hands and feet of avarice the chains of con-
tentment."

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"Love's mendicant laughs at the ermine of royalty,
As he comes forth from love's furnace smeared with ashes."

"The dust of existence has gone on the breeze, but still from
moisture of tears

The feet of Thy humble lovers remain in the mire."

"The sword of thine eyelashes came as a boon to me when
I was beside myself,

When I came to myself I had a hundred wounds on my
soul."

By the emperor's order he wrote the following verses, descriptive of an elephant:—

"From the dust of the road of the emperor whose throne is
the sky,

He scatters ambergris on himself by way of perfume.

The constellation of the Eagle appears on his head, without
exaggeration,

Like a midge on the summit of the mountains of Caucasus:

When his body is encircled with its golden chain

The milky way and the heavens come into view.

When he is distressed by the heat of the sun
 He poors water over himself like a fountain
 Damsels of fairy form and moon-like countenance
 Sit, by the emperor's command, on the throne which he
 bears
 They sit there ever in their entrancing beauty
 For verily the mountains of Caucasus are a meet resting-
 place for fairies'

One night in the year A.D. 975¹ robbers put him to death with
 cruel sword, and he was buried in the building which he had
 erected for himself in Agra

XXVIII TASJHID² OF KASHAN³

He came two or three times to India and left the country again,
 and now in these days he has returned and attempts to seduce
 men to heresy, and invites them to join the sect of the Basākh-
 wānis⁴. He has persuaded Shaikh Abu 'l-Fazl that he is an 205

¹ A.D. 1567 68

² Vide *Aja*: *Albari*, trans. Blochmann, vol. 1, pp. 590—598

³ A city of Iraq | Ajam

⁴ The followers of Mahmud of Basākhwān, a village in Gilan. The sect was also styled Mahmudiyah, Wāhidiyah, Naqqawiyah, or Ummah. Mahmud styled himself *Shāh* : *Wāhid*, or 'the individual' and professed to be the Imām Mahdi, whose appearance on earth ushers in the end of the world. He lived in A.D. 800 (A.H. 1397 H) in the days of the Amir Timur, and had many followers in Persia but the sect was thoroughly extinguished by Shāh 'Abbas I.

Mahmud pressed into his service a verse of the Qur'an Sur xvii, 81

سُبْرَىٰ إِلَّا كَمْ كَرِيْبٌ

'Peradventure thy Lord will raise thee to an honourable station'

He maintained that the human body had since its creation been advancing in purity, and that on its reaching a higher degree of perfection 'Mahmud' would arise, as indicated in the passage from the Qur'an, and with his appearance the dispensation of Muhammad would come to an end. He taught the transmigration of souls, and said that the beginning of every thing was the *nūqah* : *khal*, or 'earth atom' from which the vegetables and from these the animals, arose. The term *nūqah* : *khal* gave rise to the

infallible spiritual guide and by this means has been enabled to present to the *Khulīfah* of the age an ode, the object of which was to ask the emperor wliy he did not devote himself to the overthrowing of the self-styled orthodox, so that truth might be confirmed in its central position and pure monotheism might be established. He also dedicated to Shaikh Abū-'l-Fazl, a treatise after manner of the *Nuqṭawī* sect, and their manner¹ of writing the letters, all of which is hypocrisy and dissimulation² and comparison of the numbers of the letters, and Ḥakīm 'Ain-ul-Mulk discovered that the sum of the letters in the word *Tuṣhbīhī* was the same as in the word *Tazrīqī*,³ "the hypocrite"; and the rest of his revelations may be estimated in the same manner. *Tashbīhī* wrote a *dīvān*, and the following few verses are among his ravings :—

"For once, O dust of the graveyard, plume thyself on thy fertility,

For thou bearest in the tomb a corpse like me killed by that hand and dagger."

"Wear those garments of whatever colour pleaseth thee,
For I recognize the majesty of that graceful form."

"The two hands of this world and of that world are naught,
The ring is in thy hand,⁴ both the ring and the hand are naught."

namo *Nuqṭawī*. Vide *Aīn-i-Akkarī*, trans. Blochmann, i, pp. 177, 452, 453. and *Badāoni*, text, vol. ii, pp. 245—248.

¹ That is to say singly, and not in words, as afterwards appears.

² قزريق a word coined by *Badāoni*, who forms an Arabic verbal noun from the Persian word *قزیق*. He also uses this word in vol. ii, p. 247.

³ The numerical values of the letters in the two words are—

$$400 + 300 + 2 + 10 + 5 + 10 = 727; \text{ and}$$

$$400 + 7 + 200 + 10 + 100 + 10 = 727.$$

⁴ Possibly a reference to the game of *kacā-bāzī*, in which one player has to guess in which of the other's hands a ring is hidden.

At the time when I was writing this hasty compilation he gave into my hand, in the presence of Shaikh Ahū'l Farī, a treatise on Mahmud of Basālhwān, the preface of which was as follows —

"O God! who art praiseworthy (*Makmūd*) in all Thy doings, I call upon Thee for help, on Thee of whom it is said, 'There is no God but He' Praise be to God whose mercies are visible in all His works, who has shown the existence of all His works From Him and thine * * ! He knows Himself, but we do not know ourselves, nor Him He is an existence not existing except through Himself, and a place of existence independent of others, and He is the most merciful Question —What is that which is called 'Nature'? Answer —"That which is called 'Nature' is God'

Dirt in his mouth, for daring to write such stuff! The point of all this lying is 'the soni *nugafs*' At the end of the treatise I saw, in his own writing, "This has been frequently written with reference to the Persian, the infallible religious guide, T, b, S, r, 'a, li, a, k, r, b, It, ash, h, i, h, i, *Anāti*, *Ukkhravī*, *Sahib Maqām* (the representative)* And the rest was after the same fashion We flee to God for refuge from such naboliof!

XXIX TAQT UD-DIVĀN² OR SHŪBĀTAR

He has recently entered the imperial service and is well versed both in those sciences which call for the exercise of the reasoning faculty and in traditional knowledge He is well acquainted with poetry and has poetic genius The following couplets are his —

¹ One word is unintelligible in the text The word is given as پےچہ with a variant پےچہ.

² The text seems to be corrupt I have trans literated the letters and words appearing in the text and in MSS (A) and (B) Mr Blochmann (trans *Ain-i Akbari* p 547 n) makes the letters read 'Mir 'Ali Akbar Taslibi the Amīni, the last the representative' and his reading appears to be a good one though it is not that of the text

³ Otherwise known as Mulla Taqiya In the *Tubaqat-i Akbari* he is styled Taqt Muhammad He is represented as a disciple of Akbar's "Divine Faith" Vide *Ain-i Akbari* trans Blochmann p 518

" If I be not enabled to steal a glance at Thy face,
 I can at least fill my mouth with sweetness by thinking on
 Thy lip :

If Thou hast planted me like a herb on the earth,
 Where shall I find the hand and the heart that will enable
 me to end my earthly pilgrimage ? "

He is at present employed, by the emperor's command, in turning the *Shāhnāma* into prose, or in other words in converting fine linen into sackcloth, or in unravelling a rope to make oakum.

XXX. SĀNĪ KHĀN¹ OF HERĀT.

He is one of the *amīrs* who have been long in the imperial service, and is well known for his ability, scientific knowledge, and wit. If anybody were praised to him for his learning and accomplishments he would at once say to him, " My love and friendship are conditional on this, that you pay no heed to what the base and vulgar say of me, for such people are a hindrance to 207 friendship and a cause of strife." His verses are, as it were, disconnected fragments of chaff, but he has nevertheless completed a *dīvān*.

" O thou whose practice is to vex me, and whose rule of conduct is injustice !

I cry out against this injustice and against this rule."

Pass by this bitterness, for in this tardy world no one who ill-treats the poor prospers."

" A rival is on the road to salute thee,
 O God ! Grant that he leave not the road with his life."

¹ He was born at Herāt and belonged to the Arlāt clan. According to the *Akbarnāma* (i. 379) Maulānā Sānī, 'who is now called Sānī Khān,' was in the service of Mīrzā Hindāl; but after the Mīrzā's death (Nov. 20, 1551) he was received by Humāyūn into his service. He served in the wars with Khān Zamān. Vide *Āīn-i-Ākbarī*, trans. Blochmann, i. 476. According to the *Tabaqāt-i-Ākbarī* Sānī Khān was a low fellow who was originally a *qalandar* and eventually rose to be an *amīr*.

Quatrain

"I have suffered from separation as even Jacob¹ never suffered,

I have suffered for love what even Majnun never suffered,
This calamity which thine absence has brought upon me
Was never dreamt of by Farhād nor heard of by Vāniq"²

His name is 'Ali Akbar and he has made the fact that he bears the same name as the emperor, an excuse for addressing to him treatises on heresy, in which, agreeably to the system of the *Nugtauris*,³ he sets forth both the emperor and himself as that promised person who was to appear, in accordance with the numerical values of the letters composing the word *shakhs*,⁴ in the year A.H. 990,⁵ and he quotes the words of Mahmud in support of this view —the enree of God be upon them all! He has versified the *Kafīyah*⁶ and a treatise on Sufism, in which occurs the following ridiculous couplet⁷ which is made to scan merely by filling in vowels —

اَحْرَنْجَمْ سُرْجَنْجِمْ

He has apparently, at the latter end of his life, renounced of poetry.

XXXI SANĀ'Ī⁸ OF MASHHAD

His name is *Khwāja Hāsin*. Before he came to India the 208 great men of his country used secretly to assemble at social

¹ *Sic* in his separation from Joseph. Majnun Farhad and Vāniq were famous lovers.

² See the note on page —

³ "A person". The numerical values of the letters are 300 + 600 + 90 = 990

⁴ A.D. 1582

⁵ *Al kafīyah fi n-nahiy (liber sufficiens)* by Shaikh Jamāl ud dīn Abū 'Umar 'Uthmān b. 'Umr, commonly known as Ibrāhīm al-Hajīb. A famous work on Arabic Grammar, a full account of which, and its various commentaries is given in Hāfi Khalfah, 9707. The author died in A.H. 646 = A.D. 1248-49. *Vide Badāoni*, vol. 1 trans. Ranking, pp. 428 and 465 and notes.

⁶ *Sic*, but a hemistich only is quoted.

⁷ Sanā'ī was the son of Ghīyāth ud dīn Muḥammad of Mashhad. The

gatherings to consider and discuss even one couplet by him, and in each gathering his verses were read by way of good augury, and all agreed, both with tongue and pen, in his pre-eminence in poesy, and recorded their opinions. Since his arrival in India all his poetic fancy has been frozen by envy, and he is fallen into the corner of neglect and become the target for a hundred shafts of criticism, and wanders distracted in the way of the vulgar. His *divān* is well known and contains a good *mashnавī*, although it is for the most part pointless, and its style is not comparable with that of his loftier odes. He has, however, a poetic nature, and in all subjects save unity, preaching, advice, and direction he has wonderful aptitude. I quote these few couplets as a memorial of him :—

“ Such grace rains down from her from head to foot,
That one could sweep grace out of her bed.”

The idea expressed in this couplet, however, very closely resembles that in the couplet of the master-poet :

“ She causes blandishments to spring from the ground, she
scatters grace in the air
By means of her graceful gait and her sweet foot on the
earth.”

“ If, for example, thou sittest ¹ behind a mirror, a person
Standing before it sees his own image with the face
reversed.” ²

author of the *Ātashkada-i-Āzar* says of his poems, “ either no one understands the meaning of his verses, or his verses have no meaning.” This criticism appears to be just. Ṣanā'i, having offended Shāh Ismā'il Ṣafavī II by presenting to him an ode on his accession which contained no mention of his name, fled to India and was well received at court. He died at Lāhor in A.H. 1000 (A.D. 1591-92). Abū-l-Faiz Faizi, Akbar's poet-laureate, and brother of Abū-l-Fazl, was Ṣanā'i's pupil. Vide *Āin-i-Akbarī* i. trans. Blochmann, p. 549, n. 6, and p. 563.

¹ جائني MS. (A) has چائني, a meaningless word which has apparently helped to puzzle the editor of the text.

² Mr. Blochmann (*Āin-i-Akbarī* trans. i. 564) says of this passage, ‘This

I shed so much grief abroad from my house
 That the difficulties of my house are from without the
 door "

In describing an ambassador he says —

" Like the sun in the sky thou hast traversed the world,

Like sleep thou art welcome to all eyes

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The sun, perchance, is but a distillation from thy hand,

Which washes the whole world with one drop of water,

Such blackness has overspread that tribe whose fate is
 dominated by Saturn that if, for example,

Each hair on their bodies became a cauldle,

The sight of man would not be able to distinguish their
 faces !

The sound of their shoes would snatch Venus away from
 life,

Their hideous voices reach not the understanding,

Their gait is like fire, their speech is like war

The sight of them is punishment and their voice is a
 brazen trumpet

If a thought of them passes through the mind of the
 wet nurse

The child from fear desists from sucking " *

" O thou ! from the splendour of the fair candle of whose
 face the mirror is illumined,

From whose reflection the mirror seems to cherish a soul,

Place not the mirror before thee for the sake of seeing
 thyself,

Reflect rather on my condition and look not in the glass

Fire has burst into flame in my heart, like its reflection in
 a mirror,

verse is unintelligible to me' I have translated it as it stands but it seems
 to have no meaning

* The meaning of these verses is obscure

* The author has, unfortunately not said to whom these descriptive
 verses apply

Since the sunlight of thy face has been reflected in every mirror.

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If the burning blast of thy wrath should break into flame,
It will see its reflection in every mirror."

THE SONG OF THE CUPBEARER.

"Come, my heart, to the wine-shop of the people of the Secret,

Drink of the cup of truth which melts outward semblance ;
So free thyself from the outward form
That thou mayst, like the fairy, become invisible to vulgar eyes.

Perchance the desire of that guide shall seize thee
So that thou mayst obtain a place in the street of the wine-shops.

Bring me,¹ cupbearer, that candle which lies in privacy,
Which is hidden, like the hand of Moses,² in his sleeve :
Give it into my hand and thus make my hand resplendent
That in its light I may stretch forth my hand to perform miracles.

Come, O cupbearer, and for the sake of the drunken debauchees

Stretch forth thy hand to shed the blood of the bottle.
Look to the circulation of the bottle and reck³ not of punishment.

¹ Literally 'come.' See the author's criticism below.

² The reference is to Exodus iv, 6, 7, and to the Qur'ān, Sūrah xxvii

12.

وَادْخُلْ يَدَكَ فِي جَيْبِكَ تَخْرُجْ بِيَضَاءٍ مِّنْ غَيْرِ سُوءٍ فِي نِسْعَ آيَتِ إِلَى
فَرْعَوْنَ وَقَوْمَهُ

"Moreover, put thy hand into thy bosom ; it shall come forth white without hurt: this shall be one among the nine signs unto Pharaoh and his people."

³ The text and MS. (B) have مُهْرِسٌ, i.e. "inquire not," "have no anxiety for." MS. (A) has مُتَرْسٌ, "fear not."

For in times of famine it becomes lawful to drink blood.
 Give me, O cupbearer, that number of existence
 That by means of its attraction I may ascend
 And may pitch my tent above this lowly place,
 And, like ambition, may set my foot on whatever is !
 Bring me, O cupbearer, that warm-blooded wine
 Which increases love in my heart "

This "Song of the Cupbearer" clearly contains many vulgarisms, for everywhere he has used "come" in the sense of "bring," and he has reproduced the expressions used by masters of poetry on the same subject, forgetting that their expressions are used in brief fragments, of which the second couplet is dependent¹ on the first.

In his odes on the sun the following couplet occurs :—

"The sun's reflection makes manifest in water the properties
 of oil

Who makes of the dust of his worth a crown."²

He has written odes on sublime subjects, but in a mean style, and to him the proverb applies :—

"Their houses are lofty, their spirit is low,
 O Lord ! make these two things equal."³

XXXII. JUDĀ'ī.

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He is Mir Sayyid 'Ali, the painter, a versatile man, each page of whose paintings is a masterpiece, and who may be described

¹ موتوف. The word is in neither MS., but has been correctly supplied in the text.

² This is a literal translation of the couplet, to which the criticism in the *Atāfakada-i-Āzar* applies. The "crown of dust" is probably a reference to the sunbeam.

³ i.e., "either bring down their houses or raise their spirit."

⁴ Mir Sayyid 'Ali of Tabriz, whose poetical name was Judā'ī, was more famous as a painter than as a poet. He is mentioned in the *Ain-i-Akbari* (trans. Blochmann, i, 107), as the first of the court painters. Of him Abū-l-Fażl says, "Among the forerunners on the high road of art I may mention first Mir Sayyid 'Ali of Tabriz. He learned the art from his father. From

"Thou art one who hast not experienced the delicious torment of the night of separation,
 Nor seen thyself shrinking from (the fierce delight of) the day of reunion.
 The thorn of reproach has not detained thy skirt,
 Thou hast not seen thyself with thy head drooping on thy breast like a bud.
 Never has thy love been constant,
 Thou hast not felt the sweet anguish of the beloved's neglect ;
 With no one hast thou held discourse of love,
 Thou hast a heart which has nothing to regret."

"My heart, at the sight of another in the arms of the beloved, is like the bird
 Which the school-boy, from fear of the master, suddenly releases."
 "Now that, after an age, my eye falls on the ravisher of my heart
 The veil of shame falls between us, so that I cannot see her face."

"I am not one to tell my tale to a messenger,
 Or to base pretensions on what a messenger may say."

"From one glance of thine in the assembly of me and my friends
 What quarrels had we not among ourselves ? "

His father, Shāh Quli Khān, composed¹ the following quatrain :—

¹ In the *Jin-i-Akbarī* (trans. Blochmann, i, 596) this quatrain is ascribed to Jazbi himself.

" Sometimes I break my vew of repentaunce and sometimes
the wine bottle,
Once, twice, incessantly I break my slate
O Lord, deliver me from the evil promptings of my spirit!
How often shall I repent and again break my vew of
repentance?"

Praised be God! Even a clod has broken into flame
One day after the return from the journey to Patna¹ Jazbi,
Qazi Shams ud din Qazvini, and some other poets, began to argue
about a couplet of Husain Sana'i's, viz. —

" If, for example, thou sittest behind a mirror, a person
standing before it sees his own image with the face
reversed "²

When I drew near to them they asked me the meaning of the
couplet which formed the subject of discussion I replied, " Such
is the state of things nowadays that it is impossible to draw
any distinction between the poetry of one's friends and (the
actions of) Titāl "³ Now this Titāl, who lived in the days of
Sultān Husain Mirzā Darbari,⁴ was a wag⁵ and a linguist, a
man of disguises,⁶ who used to go into social assemblies and
into colleges clad in the turban, the clothes, and the trappings of
a learned man and accompanied by a body of pupils He would
first introduce his theses and discuss them in a very orderly
manner, thus making himself attractive to all present He
would next introduce sophistries confused with meaningless
arguments, until even the most learned doctors were thrown into
perplexity

¹ In October, 1574 Vide vol ii, text, pp 179-181

² Vide p 288 and note (2) Contemporary poets seem to have been as
much puzzled over this verse as I am

³ تیل usually signifies 'decoit or flattery,' but it is clear, from what
follows, that the author is referring to a man so named or nicknamed

⁴ I do not understand this epithet Sultān Husain Mirzā was the king
of Khurasan, of the house of Timur

⁵ مزاحی مخترع The text wrongly omits the word مخترع, which
appears in both MSS

⁶ تغایب 'who or what turns, changes, or reverses.'

XXXIV. JAMĪLĪ OF KĀLPĪ.

He is the son of Shaikh Jalāl, Wāṣil, who was the deputy of Shaikh Muḥammad Ghans¹, and took great delight in the ecstatic songs and dances of *darvishes*. Jamīlī, though he has very little of the ecstatic piety of his father, is yet not without a love of learning and poetic taste, although he has written some ridiculous² verses.

The following verses are extracted from his works :—

“ Whenever I think on the rose of thy face,
 Like the broken-hearted nightingale I utter lamentations.
 If the joy of union with thee has never been my lot,
 I can, at least, indulge my heart with grief for the want of
 thee.”

“ Since her ringlets have led me into love’s madness,
 My distracted heart is bound in the bonds of that mad-
 ness.”

He has written an ode in praise of Qāsim ‘Ali Khān, the corn-chandler, governor of Kālpī, in the course of which this couplet occurs :—

“ To connect thee with the race of Khāns (nobles)
 Is most revolting and most unfit.”

This couplet also is attributed to him, but God knows whether correctly or not :—

“ The mouse of my heart, which I nourished with blood
 drawn from my liver,
 Has been suddenly seized by the cat of love,
 Pierced by her teeth, and carried off.”³

His elder brother, Shaikh Fazīl, was a wonderful Arabic scholar, and has written some fine poetry in Arabic. The follow-

¹ *Vide* pp. 6—10.

² Or, perhaps, in a good sense, “ comic ” or “ humorons.”

³ This couplet, and that which precedes it, raise a doubt as to what the author meant by attributing عَلَّار مُفْسِدٌ to the poet. One of the couplets is witty and the other is ridiculous.

ing is the opening couplet of an ode which he wrote in answer to an ode by Mu'in ud din Tantaranı —

O beautiful of face, my face, from days of old, has declined,
My soul has descended to the pit and tears have followed
like running water

One day he recited this couplet, and as both he and his respected brother have very sallow complexions I said, ' In this opening couplet you have evidently addressed your younger brother ' This quat was very well received The opening couplet of the original ode, which was answered, is —

"O thou of easy circumstances, sure thou hast thrown my affairs into confusion

Thou hast disturbed my heart by thine absence and it is
in a decline owing to its palpitation " !

And Shaikh Fazil has written on Faizi's commentary² an essay in Arabic, in prose and verse, which furnishes sufficient proof of his great learning At the present time both brothers have set out from Lahor for their native place If, in the course of following the object which they have in view, which is a review of all the Imams of India, they do not slay one another utterly, it will be a wonder

XXXV Cishti³

He is Shaikh Husain the Sufi, whose native place is Dihli, and as he is a disciple of Shaikh Salim Cishti⁴ he has chosen

¹ This is the opening couplet of a *qasidah* by Tantarsı

² Probably the *Sauat ul ilham* (rays of inspiration) As Faizi has been careful, in this book, to use no words containing a dotted letter the work is probably more of interest as a feat of intellectual gymnastics than of value as a theological treatise Vide *Ain-i Akbari*, trans. Blochmann, 1, 549

³ The *Ibabat-i Akbari* contains the following notice of Cishti — "Shaikh Cishti of Dihli whose name was Hasan (probably a misreading for Hussain) was one of the disciples of Shaikh Salim Cishti He used to wear the garb of a Sufi and passed his days in religious ecstasy

⁴ Vide pp. 18—27 The text has "Shaikh Islām," but "Salim" is correct

this poetical name. He was one of the Sūfi members of the monastery at Fathpūr, otherwise known as Sikrī. He has composed a *dīvān* and is the author of several works, one of which is "The Book of the Heart and the Soul" written in verse, but in an Indian style, and since its purport is the same as that of the book "Beauty and the Heart," in which the master Mīr 'Alī Shir¹ has displayed his verbosity, it would be a pity to soil one's tongue with the mention of it.

Perhaps this opening couplet is the only one of several thousands of couplets written by Cishtī which is worthy of mention :—

" Such love has Qais² for the peacock's feather
That it would seem that he believes its eye to be the foot-
print of Lailā's camel."

XXXVI. JA'FAR.³

He is a Sayyid of Hirāt and has good taste in poetry and in the composition of enigmas. He was the chief paymaster of Ataga Khān⁴ and has written an ode and composed an enigma dedicated to Mīrza 'Aziz Kūka,⁵ containing a list of his titles and prayers for his long life and prosperity. The following few couplets are selected from his poems :—

¹ Amīr 'Alī Shir was the *vazīr* of Sultān Husain Mīrzā, king of Khurāsān, of the house of Timūr (A.D. 1470—1505) and was the patron of the poet Jāmī. I have not seen a copy of his book, or of Cishtī's, but from the way in which the author speaks of them they were probably books on Sūfi-ism.

² Qais, usually known by his epithet of Majnūn, "the distracted by love," was the lover of Lailā.

³ This poet is not mentioned in the *Āīn-i-Akbarī* nor in the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*.

⁴ Shams-ud-dīn Muḥammad Ataga ('foster-father') Khān was the foster-father of Akbar and was a commander of five thousand. He was murdered by Adham Khān, May 16, 1562. Vide *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, trans. Blochmann, i, 321.

⁵ Mīrza 'Azīz Kūka, Khān-i-Azam, was the son of Ataga Khān and a commander of five thousand. Vide *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, trans. Blochmann, i, 325—328.

" Now that the comb has disturbed those musky locks ¹
 Ab, that the wind would bear this message to thine ear!"

"I would not bathe the dust, even of musk, should settle on
 that cheek,
 God forbid that dust should b*ive* a place near thy heart"

"The place of herbage in the garden is beneath the foot of
 the rose,
 In the garden of thy beauty² herbage has settled on the
 rose"

XXXVII JA'FAR BEG³

He is well known as Asaf Khan the Qazvini, and is brother's son to Mirza Ghayas ud din 'Ali Asaf Khan, the late paymaster in-chief. He is himself now one of the chief paymasters. So

¹ Literally 'that musky chain'. The reference is to the chain hung in the court of an oriental sovereign which petitioners for justice could shake and thus arouse the king and bring their grievances to his notice.

² *zamān*, as in both MSS. The text has *zamān* 'paradise' which does not suit the meaning of the verse. The reference is to the down on the cheek of the beloved.

8 Ja'fer Beg was Mirza Qiyām ud din, son of Badi uz Zaman of Qazvin, who had been *tāzir* of Kashan during the reign of Shah Fehmāsp and had presented his son at the Persian Court. He came to India in 1577 and was presented to Akbar by his uncle Mirza Ghayas ud din 'Ali Asaf Khan. After his uncle's death he was appointed commander of two thousand, and received the title of Asaf Khan. He was appointed successively Thanadar of Sawad (Swat), governor of Keshmir, *dārān-i-kul Subaddr* of Bibar and commander of three thousand. On Jahangir's accession he was appointed *ataliq* to Soljan Perviz and, later, *Fukūl* and commander of five thousand. He accompanied Parviz to the Dakan as his *ataliq* and died there in A.D. 1021 (A.D. 1612) at the age of 63. He was a man of great genius, an able financier, a good accountant, a great horticulturist, and one of the best poets of his time. He was a free thinker, and was one of the members of Akbar's "divine faith". *Tāzir-i-Akbar*, trans. Blochmann, 1, 209, 411—413 et passim; *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, 108, 109 et passim, and the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*.

bitter is his resentment at having received no honour in the days in which his uncle was influential at court, that he continues to show it, and to attack his uncle even now that he is dead.¹ His poetic genius is greater than that of all his contemporaries, but is restricted by not being exercised, owing to his love of pleasure and ease and the great demands made upon his time by official business. He is also moderately fond of learning. Had he been a man of one occupation he would have enchanted the hearts of many of the poverty-stricken people of this time, which would probably have been worth to him forty *tūmāns* in cash.² (Whenever he made any considerable sum of money by his poetry he would squander it.)³

The following few couplets are some of his :—

“ My lives are cast to-day in the ways of injustice
For wherever the beloved sets her footheads fall.”

“ If, like the moth, I fly distractedly around thy candle,
O obstinate one !
My presumptuous flight will at length land me in death.”

“ The roses of all are despoiled by the autumn,
But in my case both the rose-tree and the rose-garden are
gone.”

“ Thine affair, O Ja‘far ! is fallen into the fire,
217 Two hundred songsters are here not worth one salamander.”

“ At length the day of resurrection has come for the reckoning of my sin.
O, tear up the record of the sins of the people.”

¹ Lit. “ He fights and quarrels even with his spirit.”

² Then equivalent to £120.

³ The passage in brackets is not in the text, but has been supplied from the MSS.

" What plain was this and what hunter that always brought down the game ?

No quarry appeared in view, but received an arrow from him "

" I must write a letter concerning my grief to her who possesses my heart ,

The grief of my heart is great, I must write to my love concerning it "

" If Thou art pleased with Jafai, with the faith which he holds and his heart,

I am deputed by him to say that he freely gives Thee this faith and heart "

" Behold my magnanimity ! A hundred leaves of the book of hope

Have I torn into a hundred pieces and washed them with tears of blood ! "

" A rose has now bloomed in the garden afresh,

For last night the nightingale slept not till the morning "

" Since the city was too small to contain the griefs of my heart

The open plain was created for my heart '

" All thy complaints are over, as mine begin,

For the whole of my complaint is that I do not hear the voice of thy complaint "

Come into her heart, O pity, and let not my grief be in vain !

For I am deeply afflicted while she is occupied with cruelty

"Ja'far found the way to the street of his love,
Now he will hardly rise to his feet again."

"She came and distracted me, and remained not for so long
That I could make my heart acquainted with consolation."

XXXVIII. ḤAIDARĪ OF TABRĪZ.¹

He has performed the pilgrimage to Makkah. He was the pupil of Lisānī, and has written, in reply to the book *Sahw-ul-*

¹ In the *Tubaqāt-i-Akbarī* it is said that Ḥaidarī came three times from 'Irāq to India and, having profited much by the generosity of Akbar's Court, finally returned to 'Irāq. The following is the substance of Mr. Blochmann's note regarding him, on p. 603, of his translation of vol. i, of the *Āin-i-Akbarī* :—

Ḥaidarī was three times in India. The first time he came he was young, and found a patron in Muḥammad Qāsim Khān of Nishāpūr. His company was more agreeable than his poems. The *Maṣnavī* which he wrote in imitation of Sha'di's *Būstān* is insipid, and remained unknown. Though he made money in India he wrote a satirical quatrain on the country, the purport of which is that in a country in which two men can feast for a rupee the worth of the men is not difficult to guess. On his second return to India he found a patron in Mīrzā 'Azīz Kūka, Khān-i-A'zam, who gave him two thousand rupees for an ode. Shams-ud-dīn Muḥammad, Ataga Khān, introduced him at Court. For an ode on the elephant Akbar presented him with two thousand rupees and a horse. The third time he came to India he attached himself to Mīrzā 'Abdnur-Rahīm, Khānkhanān, whom he accompanied on his expedition to Gujārāt, and received liberal presents for an ode on the victory of Sarkic. He returned to Kāshān, the governor of which town, Agha Khizr Nahāvandī, befriended him. As Tabrīz had just been destroyed by the Turks of Rūm he settled in 'Irāq, at a place called in the MSS. ~~جبل~~ which for its excellent climate and fruits had no equal in 'Irāq or Khurāsān. At about that time Shāh 'Abbās came to that place on a hawking expedition and, having been treated with courtesy by a *darrīsh*, ordered a general massacre of the inhabitants, which was happily prevented by Ḥaidarī's influence. Ḥaidarī died at this place, beloved by all, in A.H. 1002 (A.D. 1593-94). His son Sāmirī came to India after his father's death, and was made by the Khānkhanān Mīr Sāmān of his household. He was also a good officer, and was killed during the wars in the Dākan, when with Shāhnawāz Khān, the son of his patron.

Lisan ('a slip of the tongue') by his fellow pupil Sharif of Tabriz the *Lisān-ul Ghāib* ('a voice from heaven') in praise of Lisanī. He was for some time in India and then left and returned, and again went away in such sort that he cannot return again. I have seen his *dīrān*, containing about 14,000 couplets but with very little good stuff! among all these. In an ode describing the imperial elephants he has written —

"They were not mounds of driven sand—
His elephants, for they are in battle array
And, for the purpose of engulfsing his foes
They are, on every side, the billows of the ocean of calamity"

As need for this ode the emperor ordered that a horse and a money reward should be given to him, but the treasurer delayed in carrying out the order, and Haidari wrote this fragment —

"I have a difficulty, O King! I wish to present to thee a petition
My difficulty imprints on my heart a hundred brands of regret
Thou didst command silver and gold to be given to me,
but from thy treasurer
It is hard to get, and yet harder not to get."

Some of his verses —

"No trust is to be placed in the leves³ of the moon faced beauties of this world
A ray of the sun settles not long on one place

"I burn ever with an inward fire, such it is
I am contemned everywhere, such is my miserable lot

¹ قماش I have translated literally!

² From the note on the preceding page it would seem that Haidari at last received his reward

³ This is a play upon words. The word شمس here used means also "sun"

A fragment.

" Haidari ! Strive, like the virtuous, to the utmost
 To attain to some perfection in this world of sorrow ;
 For to go from this world deficient in anything
 Is as though one were to leave the bath unclean."

XXXIX. HUZNĪ.¹

He was one of the learned men of 'Irāq. During the disturbances at Hirāt he left that perilous place to journey towards India, but before he reached his goal he set forth for the desert of non-existence. The following verses are his :—

" Laughter comes upon me when I think on the simplicity
 of Huzni,
 For he loves, and expects fidelity from his beloved.
 The loved one, in her ignorance, rendered fruitless my
 efforts on his behalf² ;
 And the strange thing is that he is all the more indebted
 to me." —

" I throw my *darvish*'s robe on the fire that thou mayest
 smell the odour of faith
 From the patched garment, every thread of which is a
 fire-worshipper's sacred thread."

XL. HAYĀTĪ OF GILĀN.³

He was a sympathetic friend, and excelled in all descriptions of poetry. He entered the imperial service on the recommenda-

¹ Thus described in the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* :—" Mir Huznī was one of the learned men of his time. He was travelling from 'Irāq to pay his respects to the emperor, when he died." In the *Aīn-i-Akbarī* (trans. Blochmann, i, 565) he is thus described, " He was an inquiring man of a philosophical turn of mind, and well acquainted with ancient poetry and chronology. He was free and easy and good hearted. Friendliness was stamped on his forehead. He is said to have been born in Junābūd, and to have been a merchant. He was the pupil of Qāsim-i-Kāhī. (See no. II.)

² ز ناداني برو او کرد ههدم کار من ضایع. The line as it stands does not scan. We should probably read کرد سمت for کرد ههدم

³ Thus described in the *Aīn-i-Akbarī* (i, 574). " A stream from the ocean

tion of Hakim Abu'l-Fath and grew up in that service. He has written a *diwan* and is well acquainted with the poetry of the ancients. Although he is entirely destitute of actual learning he is strenuous and has a sound understanding and a well-balanced mind.

The following verses are his —

"Watch thyself well in every word that thou utterest, 220
 Repent of a speech which gladdens no heart
 What need hast thou of the wing of a bird? If the men
 of this age are employed in light talk
 Borrow the foot of the ant, and flee!"

"God doth not accustom my tongue to the uttering of complaints

May He not associate me with complaints, especially of thee'

Quatrain

"Ever hast thou treated me with harshness,—thou art excused

Thou hast heard but the name of faithfulness,—thou art excused

Then sayest, 'I am falsely accused of harshness',
 Thou hast not tried thyself,—thou art excused"

Quatrain

"So long as thou art employed in the nurture of vain desires

Thine axe shall strike no stump but thine own foot

of thought passes by his house correctness and equity are visible on his forehead. Serenity and truth are in him united, so is free from the bad qualities of poets'. He is said to have been born at Rasht in Gilan and to have belonged to the common people of that place. To better his circumstances he went to India, was introduced by Hakim Abu'l-Fath Gilani (see c in no VIII) at court, got a *jagir* and was liked by Akbar. He joined the Khankhanan in the wars in the Dakhan and lived chiefly at Burhanpur where he built a villa and a *masjid* called after him. He was alive in A.D. 1615.

No enemy works thee such mischief as thou workest thyself,
 Thy blood is on the head of thine own imagining."

"We have associated with unbelievers
 But found among them no waist worthy of the sacred thread."¹

An ode.

"I desire a house of mourning that I may shut its door on myself

But my resolution has peopled it, and now I desire some desert spot.

The world is disturbed by stories of "to-morrow" and "yesterday,"

I desire some tale of the speech of my own grief.

From the fields of this world, the harvest of ox and ass,

I desire no harvest nor ear of corn nor even a grain.

I am content whether I be killed by the sword of the warrior of Islām or the arrow of the unbeliever,

I thirst for my own blood and all I require is a cup.

Hayātī, sit not before me, prevent not my ravings,

I am a lover and thou art wise, a demented companion is what I require."

XLI. HAYĀTĪ.

He was in Gujarāt with Mirzā Nizām-ud-din Ahmad.² The following verses are by him :—

"The message of the loved one re-opens the wound in my liver,

And renews the grief of farewells and the pain of the journey."

¹ *مِنْدِب* the sacred thread worn by Hindūs of the higher castes and by fire-worshippers.

² The author of the *Tabaqat-i-Akbarī*, in which work Hayātī is not mentioned.

Quatrains

"The lover pressed his cheek against thy door and went,
He displayed that love which he had for thee and went
One night, having obtained admission to the assembly
and union with thee by a thousand stratagems,
The moth opened his eyes to the candle, and went'

XLII İHLĀLATI¹

His name was Yādgār, and he claimed descent from the late Sultan Sanjar,² though in the *Tarikh-i-Nizāri*³ Mirzā Ahmad says that he was a Caghatai. He was known for his sincerity and orthodoxy. He wrote a *dīwān*. The following verses are his —

"From weeping there remains not in my liver so much moisture

That the bird of thine arrow could wet his bill therewith"

"Would that I could be the string of thy shirt
So that thou and I might be enclosed in one garment!"⁴

"That line of dark musk on the page of thy cheek
Is a now revelation from on high"

"I constantly come behind the rival and cover his eyes in sport,
That he may have no share in the joy of beholding my beloved."

"The dark mole is placed by the corner of thine eye
Like a hunter sitting in ambush for his prey"

¹ İhlālati is thus briefly described in the *Āmūz-i-Akbari* (trans. Blochmann, p. 595), 'His name is Yādgār. He is a selfish man'. In the *Tubaqat-i-Akbari* he is described as a soldier by profession.

² The fifth son of Pir Muhammad Mirza, grandson of Amir Timur.

³ This is the *Tubaqat-i-Akbari* by Mirzā Nizām ud-din Alī al-

⁴ Cf. Feunyson's "The Miller & Daughter".

" Again am I weeping for the beauty of that rose,
To-day have I seen the rose, for I have again become the
nightingale."

" Thy ravishing lip has suffered much from fever spots,
Alas that thy rose-petal has been damaged by hail."

Hālatī's father had the poetical name of Wālihī. This opening couplet is by him :—

" The moon of the 'Id has shown her eyebrow, and gladdened my heart,
Thanks be to God, who has freed me from this thirty days' grief." ¹

His son, although he had the poetical name of Baqā'i, changed it to Rusvā'i ('the blackguard') on account of his unprofitableness. He met an early death, for having, by instructions from his mother, given his unfortunate father poison, for some fault that he had committed. He was sent, by the emperor's order, from Kashmīr to Lāhor, where the *Kotwāl* executed him. He had some poetic genius, and wrote the following couplet :—

223 " While thy death-dealing glance is the despoiler of life
Death looks on from afar with regret."

XLIII. THE KHĀN-I-A'ZAM.²

He is Ataga Khān who, when the imperial army was defeated at Jausā,³ at the time when the king who had obtained forgive-

¹ The thirty days' fast of Ramaḍān, which comes to an end on the appearance of the new moon of Shawwāl, which ushers in the 'Id-ul-Fiṭr.

² Shams-ud-dīn Muḥammad Khān entered the service of Kāmrān Mīrzā as a common soldier. For the service rendered in saving his life Hūmāyūn attached him to his service and subsequently, at Amarkot, appointed his wife wet-nurse (*anaga*) to the child Akbar, conferring on her the title of *Jī Jī anaga*. Shams-ud-dīn remained with the young prince while Hūmāyūn was in Persia, and received, after the emperor's restoration, the title of Ataga ('foster-father') Khān. After Akbar's accession Ataga Khān was sent to Kābul to bring to India the empress-mother and the other *Begams*.

³ A village on the banks of the Ganges, where Hūmāyūn was defeated

ness,¹ the emperor Humāyun, fell, like a crocodile, into the river Ganges, and the sun of dignity² nearly disappeared for ever in that boundless waste of waters, seized his hand and brought him from that whirlpool of calamity and from the deep waters of destruction to the shore of safety and security. This service led to his very great advancement.

Although his dignity is too great for him to be described as a poet or one given to poetry, still, as he had poetic genius the following verses by him are quoted —

"My little tear, set not thy foot forth from the house of my eye

For well born children³ leave the house but seldom."

"If the full moon in her glory should boast o'er the sun of thy face

She will at last sink down from the turquoise sky inverted"

By Shér Shér Fide vol 1, trans. Ranking, pp 459 and n 4 and 462 and n 3 Badsoni is, however, mistaken here in saying that Ataga Khan's service was rendered at the battle of Jansi. Humāyun was saved after that battle by a water carrier named according to Firuzta Nizam, who is said by the same authority to have been allowed as a reward, to occupy the throne for half a day. Ataga Khan saved Humāyun after the battle of Quesar "The King rode off with the intention of going to the high ground. This action of his in itself afforded an excuse to his men to flee, and a serious defeat ensued. Moreover, the king, while crossing the river Ganges, became separated from his horse and, by the help of Shams ad din Muhammad of Ghazni (who eventually became the foster-father of the prince a most excellent majesty, and was honoured in Hindustan with the title of A'zam Khan) escaped from the water and returned to Agra" Fide vol 1, trans. Ranking p 461 Nuruddin Ahmad, in the Zubaqat says "He had the title of Khan-i-A'zam, and was the foster-father of his majesty. He attained to the grade of an Amīr and Fakīl of the empire and tasted the cup of martyrdom at the hands of Adham Khan" (May 16 1562)

¹ That is to say, deceased

² سار MS (B) has شم and if this reading be accepted the translation will be, "his sun nearly disappeared etc.

³ مژده مردم را مزده که جشم 'the pupil of the eye'

The following quatrain is by his son, Yūsuf Muḥammad Khān¹ :—

“Those who walk self-satisfied in the street of desire are of one sort,
The paupers of the valley of love of another.
Those who seek aught but the pleasure of the beloved
Differ widely from those who grieve with love.”

XLIV. KHANJAR BEG.²

He is one of the Caghatāī nobles and is related to Tardi Beg Khān,³ who has been already mentioned. He has written a 224 *maṣnavī* of three hundred couplets on his own condition and containing also the praise of the emperor. He is a versatile man, unequalled in the art of war, in calligraphy, in poetry, in the composition of enigmas, in general knowledge, in the use of the astrolabe, in astronomy, and in handling figures. He is also the author of several works, and he has enumerated his own excellences in the *maṣnavī* already mentioned. In the art of music he collected information regarding the systems of the Persians and

¹ MS. (A) styles him, wrongly, Muḥammad Yūsuf Khān. He was the eldest son of Ataga Khān and distinguished himself, when twelve years old, in the fight with Bairām Khān, and was made a Khān. When his father had been killed by Adham Khān Akbar took care of him and his younger brother, ‘Azīz Kūka. He distinguished himself during the several rebellions of the Khān Zamān. He died, of excessive drinking, in 1565-66, at the age of eighteen.

² Thus described in the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* :—“He is one of the old Caghatāī *amīrs* of this dynasty. He was an accomplished man and excelled specially in music. He had poetic genius and wrote a well-known *maṣnavī* on dancing girls.

³ A noble of Humāyūn’s court, who was faithless to his master but was forgiven after Humāyūn’s return from Persia. During the conquest of India Tardi Beg Khān distinguished himself and received Mewāt in *jāgīr*. On Humāyūn’s death he read the *khuṭbah* in Akbar’s name and sent the crown jewels to him in the Panjab. He was appointed by Akbar a commander of five thousand and governor of Dihlī. On Hemū’s approach he evacuated Dihlī after some unsuccessful fighting and on this account was put to death by Bairām Khān in 1556.

the Indians and particularly regarding the six modes¹ of Hindū music, an undertaking which is impossible except to wealthy men of high rank and exalted position, and, indeed, there is now no trace of that information left in the land.

He had no equal in his tune. These few couplets, written for the edification and instruction of the emperor, are excerpted from the *musavat*, already mentioned —

' O King! The world is a wonderful place
 Every moment it presents some fresh spectacle
 The revolving sky, like a deceitful juggler,
 Begins every moment some new prank.
 From times of old there have been in the world
 Crowned kings, with armies and suites
 Of those old heroes, with all their desires and ambitions
 I hero remain tune worn histories, naught else
 Had the prophets seen any hope of permanence in the world
 Why should they have fled from it?
 O King! the works of this world are all envy,
 Thus is it now, and was in the past, and ever will be
 Among all these complicated affairs
 One's first object should be to acquire a good name, the rest
 is naught
 The object of this long harangue of mine is to say
 What thou should'st do now that thy turn for sovereignty
 has arrived
 In this age, in which the world is adorned by thy presence,
 May God be thy protector from harm!
 If the *humā*² has flown from this rose garden
 Cast thou thy shadow on our heads
 Since my words are without guile
 It is meet that I should offer thee counsel!

1. श्री. The modes are *Bhairav*, *Mala*, *Saiang*, *Hindol*, *Vasant*, *Dipak*, and *Megh*.

2. लूप. A fabulous bird, supposed to fly constantly in the air without touching the ground and looked upon as a bird of happy omen, prognosticating a crown to every one whom it overshadows.

Since I strive only for thy welfare,
 Why should I conceal from thee the words of truth ?
 To all words, whether uttered by this one or that one,¹
 Give ear, if they touch the root of the matter.
 It behoves a king, both in season and out of season,
 To take heed to himself and to consider both the people
 and God.

225

The poor man's error leads only to the loss of his bread,
 The king's error is a calamity to the world.
 The beggar takes heed only for his gullet and his patched
 robe.
 In the king's heart there must be thought for the people.
 Kingship is best exercised according to law,
 As the king's order is authenticated by his great seal.
 Since it is thy turn to exercise sovereignty,
 It is necessary for thee to exercise caution and prudence.
 Thou art as the candle, thy kingdom as the house,
 And thy people are around thee like moths.
 The mote in the sunbeam is not seen if the sun shines not,
 And where there is no candle there is no moth.
 That is to say, the livelihood of all is from thee,
 Thou art the shepherd, and thy people are the flock.
 The flock has come to thy pasture ;
 How canst thou leave the flock to wander unrestrained ?
 God has appointed thee their guardian,
 The shepherd's dignity belongs to His prophets ;
 Neglect not then the practice of the prophets.
 But take heed to thyself and also to mankind.
 A happy life is a jewel. See that thou value it properly,
 And count as gain both wealth and dominion.
 Thou art a king with a prophet's attributes,
 Thou art in the world for a great work.
 Justice and equity, generosity, knowledge, liberality,
 Favour and grace, humanity kindness, and faithfulness.

¹ زادیا و آمنر 'Zaid' or 'Ainr,' proper names used by way of generalization.

All these thou hast by the grace of God,
 What shall I do if thou ignore thine own worth?
 Thou ridest, laughing light-heartedly, on thy fierce elephant,
 But the people lining the walls to see thee pass are weeping
 Then layest thy hand on the task of the elephant,
 But thy people take the finger of anxiety between their teeth
 Thou layest thy hand on the elephant's trunk
 But our sleeves are shaken free of the world
 Thou boldly facest the raging tiger,
 While men flee on every side in terror
 Take thou thy pleasure in the fighting of leopards
 While we in fear tear our faces with our hands and our nails
 Thou withstandest unmoved the attack of the wolf,
 While all, both great and small, wonder at thee from afar
 Thou seest by its neck the snake that has, like the dragon, an arrow for its tongue,
 While the people of the world are writhing in dread
 Thou art swimming in a boundless ocean,
 While we, washing our hands of life, stand trembling on its brink
 Thou enterest the forest intent on the chase, 226
 The people stand at its margin in fear and anxiety
 In one dark night thou travellest a month's journey,
 While men struggle after thee sighing for the light of a torch
 Thou wanderest almost naked in the cold,
 While the people are shivering under their wrappings
 Thou runnest, heavily clad, in the heat,
 While the people bathed in sweat, take shelter under a tree
 Thou presest onward in every direction on foot,
 While we on our horses are fainting with weariness
 Thou facest the warlike foe on the field of battle,
 While the army looks on from every side

What favour is this, and what sympathy,
 That thou hast towards us and towards thyself ?
 This valour of thine is beyond conception,
 This bravery is ever fresh in thee.
 Although these things are doubtless a merit,
 They are, nevertheless, a defect in a king
 While the king remains far removed from hurt,
 The people of his land are in safety :
 If a king never spares himself,
 The whole world is thrown into confusion. [presence ;
 We desire the world and our lives to be blessed with thy
 Without thee what are the world and our lives to us ?
Khanjar, beware of prolixity,
 And weary not the king's heart :
 This speech of thine has wandered from the point,
 And the king has no need of it :
 Since he is accepted before God
 His wealth consists in devotion to business.
 His very sleep is perfect wakefulness
 Even when he wanders, it is perfect wisdom.
 The right is with him who does his duty
 And thus becomes independent of all labour."

When he recited this *mashnавī* he was honoured with various favours. He has also composed a *divān*, which is well known. The following verses are by him :—

"How often in her street shall my heart secretly heave sighs,
 And afterwards how often shall I lament that my life is
 leaving me?"

"The waters have passed over my head, and my life has gone
 on the breeze ;
 My body has become dust; yet still the fire of my heart
 breaks into flame."

At the time when the Khānzamān and Bahādur raised their heads as high as the star Capella in turbulence and rebellion¹

¹ 'Alī Qulī Khān received the title of Khānzamān after defeating and

Khanjū Beg was confederate with them, and fled into Bengal, and he has probably disappeared in consequence of those disorders.

XLV. KHESRĀI¹

He is sister's son to Mirzā Qāsim of Junābīd.² He came to India after performing the pilgrimage to the Hijār, and he is in the service of the emperor's eldest son.³ He is worthy of mention. The following verses are by him —

"The heart of Khanzāī is so inflamed with the light of love
That candles to light his tomb may be made of his bones"

Capturing Hemū at Panipat Bahādur was his younger brother. The Khān-i-Zamān rendered most important services by clearing the eastern districts of Afghāns and amassed great wealth from his spoils. He was constantly in rebellion. He first fell into disgrace owing to a scandalous affair with Shāhām Beg, who had been page to Mumkīn and was deprived of his māhalla. He then rebelled, and having defeated the Afghāns under Shāh Khān, the son of 'Adl, in Jaunpur, retained the spoil for himself. At the end of the eighth year of his reign Akbar moved against him in person, but the Khān-i-Zamān submitted, and was pardoned and his māhalla in Jaunpur were restored to him. In the tenth year he again rebelled but was induced by Mumkīm Khān to submit. Late in the year 1593, when Akbar marched against Mirzā Muhammād Iltām, the Khān-i-Zamān rebelled again, read the Khūqābāt at Jaunpur in the name of Mirzā Muhammād Iltām, and marched against Qānnauj.⁴ In 1597 Akbar resolved no longer to pardon the Khān-i-Zamān, left the Panjab, returned to Āgra, and marched thence against the rebel. The Khān-i-Zamān fled from Qānnauj to Mānlakpur where his brother Bahādur was. The rebels were finally defeated by Akbar at Fathpur about 10 or 12 miles S E of Kāja, on the Ganges, on June 9 1597. Bahādur was captured and executed and the Khān-i-Zamān was decapitated by a soldier, his head being brought to Akbar. It was probably after this battle that Khanjū Beg fled to Bengal.

¹ Called in the *Ain-i-Akbari* (trans. Blochmann, i, 691) Khanzāī of Qāsin, a town between Yād and Hirāt. Dīghistāni calls him Sayyid Amir Khanzāī and says that he excelled in music. According to the *Zubaqat-i-Albāri* he was sister's son to Mirzā Qāsim of Ruknabād (probably a misreading) and entered the emperor's service, in which he was honoured by the imperial bounty.

² Otherwise Jānkīd and Gūnbād.

³ Sultan Salīm, afterwards the emperor Jahāngīr.

"The lions of the temple of Makkah will not pollute their claws with my blood,
Do thou, my companion, regale with this morsel the dogs of the monastery."¹

XLVI. MIR DAURI.²

His name is Sultān Bāyazid, and his title *Kātib-ul-Mulk* ('scribe of the kingdom'). It is probable that nobody in Hindūstān has written the *nasta'līq* hand better than he, and he has reasonably good taste in poetry. At the end of his life he obtained grace to perform the pilgrimage of Islām. The following verses are by him:—

"At times thou art in my very soul, and at times in my afflicted heart,
Such is thy levity that thou canst not remain in one place."

An ode.

"Had I not been pampered by union with thee,
I had never suffered so much now from parting with thee.³
The bird of my heart is burnt like a moth. Ah me!
Would that I had never fluttered around that candle which illuminates the night.
Had I not brought blood to my eyes with the arrow of her eyelashes,
I had never become a mark for her heart-piercing arrow."

A quatrain.

"Since my love has departed from my sight,
My heart's blood flows from my afflicted eyes.

1 i.e. "Since Islām will have none of me hand me over to the Christians or the Zoroastrians."

2 Called in the *Āīn-i-Akbarī* (trans. Blochmann, i, 103), where he is mentioned only as a calligraphist, Maulānā Daurī. In the *Zabaqāt-i-Akbarī* he is thus described, "Mir Danrī, a calligraphist to whom the emperor gave the title of Kātib-ul-Mulk. He is the author of a *divān*." He was born at Hirāt.

3 Cf. 'Ae fond Kiss' by Burns,

She has gone from my sight but not gone from my heart
 Nay, surely this cannot be,
 For that which goes from the sight goes from the heart'

One of the Mir's pupils in calligraphy, who was also one of the writer's companions, was Khwaja Ibrahim Husain the *Ahdā*¹ (may God have mercy on him!), who was a well born man of the city of Balūt² and closely related to Shaikh 'Ahd nr Rahmān the Baluti of Lāhor, who was, in his time famed throughout the world as a religious leader and a follower of the saints. Khwaja Ibrahim Husain in the flower of his youth left this world of deceit for the abode of joy, to the infinite regret of his friends, and the writer suffered in one year, and within the space of a few days the grief of losing him and the grief of losing Mirza Nizām ud dīn Ahmad,³ and these griefs renewed my regret for the loss of my old friends—a regret which grows stronger every day.

¹ The *Ahdā* were a corps of picked men corresponding to the Gentlemen of the Lifeguards' in the days of Charles II and James VII. Most of the clerks in the imperial offices and the foremen in Akbar's workshops belonged to this corps. According to Abu'l Fażl they were called *Ahdā* because they were fit 'for a harmonious unity' whatever meaning was attached by Akbar's phrase maker to that cryptic utterance. They provided their own horses and wore thus what we call *silahdars* and men were frequently selected for command from this corps *d'élite*. Vide *Ain-i-Akbari* trans Blochmann : *passim*. Akbar was so prejudiced against the Arabic language as being the sacred tongue of Islam that he condescended to tamper with the spelling of words excluding letters that were peculiar to Arabic. *هذا* thus became *اھدی* in official records.

² In north western Afghanistan

³ The author of the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* and intimate friend of the author Badaoni (vol. II text 397) says, He passed away from this faithless world at the age of 45 of a hectic fever and carried nothing with him but a good name. Many of his friends and companions who had had experience of his courtesy entertained great hopes of him but one more than this worthless one closely bound to him by a community of faith and friendship entirely disinterested so far as worldly matters were concerned. We shed tears of grief and beat our breasts with the stone of despair but saw at length no remedy but patience and resignation which are the quality of the holy and the practice of the pious. Regarding this calamity as the greatest of misfortunes and disasters I took it greatly to heart and henceforth let my heart

Alas, I see no remedy for my pain!

I had some hope of union:—that is gone

All my concerns are languishing, because

I see that the promise of my friends is unfulfilled.

Alas! Misfortunes have crowded so thickly upon me that I have scarcely the strength left to bewail them. But what cause is there for bewailing, since we are all beneath one dome and have but to pass behind the veil to meet once more?

The following chronogram was composed on Khwāja Ibrāhīm Husain's death:

229 "In accordance with the command of the Ruler of the universe,

In the month of Safar, Khwāja Ibrāhīm Husain

Journeyed from this world of wickedness and dishonour,
And the date of his death was found in the words,

'Khwāja Ibrāhīm Husain.'"¹

XLVII. DAKHLĪ.²

He has recently come from 'Irāq and has been appointed 'an go out no more in friendship to any person, resigning myself to the corner of obscurity.'

¹ The sum of the letters is :—600 + 6 + 1 + 3 + 5 + 1 + 2 + 200 + 1 + 5 + 10 + 40 + 8 + 60 + 10 + 50 = 997 (A.D. 1589).

² In the *Aīn-i-Akbarī* (trans. Blochmann, i, 608) Dakhlī 'of Iṣfahān' is thus described, "He is a man without selfishness and of a reserved character. Though he says but little he is a man of worth." Mr. Blochmann discovered the following facts about Dakhlī. His name was Malik Alīmad, and he was the son of Malik-ul-Mulūk Maqṣūd 'Alī, proprietor of Verkopāī, twelve *farsakhs* from Iṣfahān. His mother's father was the great Shaikh Abū-l-Qāsim, who had such influence with Tahmāsp that several legacies in Persia belonging to Makkah were transferred to him, and of other foundations he was appointed *Mutawallī*. He thus grew rich, and obtained so great a following that people persuaded Tahmāsp that he was bent on rebellion or heresy. He was therefore blinded, and afterwards lived a retired life. He addressed to Tahmāsp a poem which procured him a pension. In his retirement Dakhlī was employed to arrange his poems and thus acquired a taste for poetry, and received from his grandfather the *takhalus* of Dakhlī. After attending on his maternal uncle for some time Dakhlī went to Iṣfahān, where

Ahadi,¹ and before he attained this dignity he wrote the following quatrain on *Sharif-i-Sarmadi*² the roster-keeper, inspector of the *Ahads*, who has an enormous moustache —

" This simpleton will at length become an *Ahadi*,
And will be asking for the felt cap;³
In the depth of his perplexity he will, a hundred times a
day,
Become a sacrifice for Sarmadi's moustache."

XLVIII DĀMĪ

Dāmī is a village in the district of Nishāpūr,⁴ where he passed a life of humble contentment in tilling the soil. Suddenly the seed of wandering was sown in his heart and he conceived a desire to visit India and gained no advantage from his husbandry. He has written most of his poetry in his own rustic dialect, but has also composed many odes in more polished language. He gave up the use of his own rustic dialect when he found that it could not be understood by the generality of people. One day a poet with the *takhīf* of Ulfat was playing polo, when his stick flew from his hand and struck him on the nose. Dāmī wrote the following epigram on the circumstance —

" So much bad verse did Ulfat recite
That all the libertines were delighted with him
His polo stick by ill chance broke
The bridge of his nose instead of his teeth."⁵

They say that Qilly Khān⁶ was the subject of this epigram

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he acquired some reputation as a poet. He came to India in A.D. 1589 and was for five years in Akbar's service. In 1594-95 he went to the Dakhan and found a patron in the Khan Khānān in whose service he was in 1616. He was a good soldier.

¹ Vide p. 317, n. 1

² Vide no. LXII

³ Worn by the *Ahads*.

⁴ Dāmī is not mentioned in the *Ām-i-Akbar*, nor in the *Tabaqat-i-Akbar*.

⁵ Or Nishābur, the well known town in Khurasan.

⁶ i.e., that he might recite no more poetry.

⁷ Vide no. XV.

From the two magicians, coquetry and blandishment,
The drunkard may learn quarrelsomeness.
Davā'i, the longing for association with the fair,
Is an attempt to unite flame and cotton."

L. RAFI'I.

He is Mīr Haidar of Kāshān, the composer of enigmas. His understanding is excellent and he has correct taste. He is unrivalled in the art of composing enigmas and chronograms,²—

¹ Mr. Blochmann in note 3 on p. 593 of his translation of the *Aīn-i-Akbarī* says, "His full name, according to Taqī-i-Auhadī is Amīr Rafī'-ud-dīn Haidar. He was a Tabātabā Sayyid of Kāshān. The *Ma'āṣir-i-Rāhīmī* states that he left Persia in 999 (A.D. 1590-91) on account of some wrong which he had suffered from the King of Persia, went from Gujurāt in company with Khwāja Habibullāh to Lāhor, and was well received by Akbar." After a stay of a few years in India he returned to his country and in the shipwreck mentioned below lost property to the value of two lakhs of rupees. Rafī'i was saved and returned to India, where his losses created much sympathy, and he received, at Akbar's wish, valuable presents from the Amīrs. After some time he again returned to his country, his two sojourns in India having lasted about eight lunar years. He went to Makkah and Madīnah, where he stayed four years. In A.D. 1604 he returned to Kāshān, found favour with Shāh 'Abbās, and received some rent-free lands in his native town. According to the *Ātashkada-i-Āzāri* he died in A.H. 1032 (A.D. 1622-23). He had a son, Mīr Hāsham-i-Sanjar, mentioned as a poet in the *Aīn* (trans. i, 595).

Rafī'i is thus described in the *Aīn*, "His name is Haidar. He is well acquainted with the art of poetry, and is distinguished as a writer of riddles and chronograms." The *Tubaqāt-i-Akbarī* contains the following notice of him, "Mīr Haidar, the writer of enigmas, had the poetical name of Rafī'i. His understanding is excellent and he has correct taste, and is unrivalled in the art of composing enigmas and chronograms. He spent his time in the emperor's service."

² One of Rafī'i's feats in this way was the discovery that the numerical values of the letters of the *Sūrat-ul-Ikhlāṣ*, the 112th chapter of the Qur'ān, gave the date of the completion of Faizi's *Sawā'i-i-ul-Ilhām*, the commentary on the Qur'ān composed entirely of letters without dots. The chapter, which is also called *Sūrat-ut-Tauhīd*, runs as follows:—

قَلْ هُوَ اللَّهُ أَحَدٌ لَمْ يَلِدْ وَلَمْ يُوْلَدْ وَلَمْ يَكُنْ لَّهٗ كَفُواً أَحَدٌ

indeed, he does not even know that there are any arts but these two. One day Shaikh Faizi told him that the art of composing enigmas had gone out of fashion in Hindūstān and that the practice of it was considered unworthy. He replied, "I have toiled for years in my own country in the study of enigmas, and now that I have grown old in this pursuit, how can I give it up?" He came with Khwaja Habibullāh from Gujarat to Lāhor and received a fixed allowance from the emperor a privy purse and from courtiers. He embarked in a ship and set sail for his native land, but, when he had passed Hormuz and was nearing Kuj and Makrān,¹ his ship was wrecked and all that he had was lost, among the rest several parts of Shaikh Faizi's pointless commentary² on the *Qur'an*, letters of introduction from learned men, and Faizi's *dīdān*, a copy of which he was sending abroad 233 in order to increase his reputation.

The following verses are by Rafī' —

"I have a tender heart, my slightly love what remedy
is there for me?

I am a lover with the nature of one beloved what can
I do?"

"I was jealous of Rafī's coffin for thou

Didst accompany it weeping more bitterly than the
mourners"

A quatrain

"The devotee sins not, for Thou art the Avenger,
We are steeped in sin, for Thou art the Pardoner

and the arm of the letters gives the date A.H. 972 (=A.D. 1564-65). Mr. Blochmann in note 2 on p. 549 of his translation of vol. 1 of the *Ain-i Akbari* makes the date A.H. 1002 (=A.D. 1593-94) but this is an error. For this fortunate discovery Rafī received 10,000 rupees from Faizi.

¹ Badaoni's geography is here at fault. Rafī could not have reached Hormuz (Ormuz) which is an Island in the Persian Gulf opposite to Gombroon or Bandar-i 'Abbas until he had passed beyond the coast of Makrān. Kuj is an inland town of Makran.

² That is to say the commentary composed of undotted letters. See note (1) above.

He calls Thee the Avenger, and we the Pardoners,
O Lord ! say which name Thou preferrest."

And he has a quatrain which contains twenty-six chronograms.¹

LI. RAHĀ'I.²

He is descended from Shaikh Zain-ud-din of Khavāf,³ and he has composed a famous *divān*. The following verses are his :—

" O love, thou didst encourage me to hope for thy favour,
And didst then repulse my hope on every side."

" I travelled in order to ease my heart of its grief,
How was I to know that a hundred mountains of grief
would confront me on my way ? "

" The secrets which I have with that rose are as buds formed
of my heart's blood ;
To tell the heart's secrets to all is hard indeed."

¹ This quatrain has not been quoted, and is not mentioned either in the *Āīn* or in the *Tabaqāt*.

² Vide *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, trans. Blochmann, i, 592, and note 1. It is there said of Rahā'i that " he pretended to be a Sūfī." His name was Maulānā Sa'd-ud-dīn of Khavāf or Khāf.

³ Zain-ud-dīn Khāfī or Khavāfī, from whom Rahā'i traced his descent, was a famous saint who died in the beginning of Shawwāl, A.H. 838 (May A.D. 1435). He was buried first at Mālin (or Bālin), then at Darvīshābād, then at Hirāt. His biography is given in Jāmī's *Nafhāt-ul-‘Uṣūl*, and he is not to be confounded with the saint Zain-ud-dīn Tāibādī.

Khāf or Khavāf is a district and town in Khurāsān, which belonged to the revenue district of Nishābūr, and was famous for the kings, ministers, and learned men which it produced. The town was also famous for the fact that its inhabitants were bigoted Sunnis, and were persecuted by Shāh ‘Abbās of Persia. Its inhabitants are now Shī’ahs. The number of Khavāfis in the service of the Mughal emperors was considerable. The one whose name is best known is Muḥammad Hāshim, known as Khāfī or Khavāfī Khān, author of the *Muntakhab-ul-Lubāb*, a valuable historical work in three volumes,

" Paes not from my eyes like tears, my dear,
Be more humane and pass not thus by men " 1

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" In the heat of thy wrath thou throwest me into the fire,
And then coquettishly warmest thy hande at the fire "

" I have so devoted myself to thankfulness for that emall
mouth and that eyebrow like the new moon
That nobody now calls me to mind "

" I have suffered cruelty not only at the hands of that
faithless and capricious girl
But at the hands of all from whom I hoped for faithfulness "

" Thou, my friend, dost not know all the grief of my heart,
Nor all that I have suffered at the hands of that cruel
moon faced beauty "

LII RAUGHANI 2

He was an impudent jack pudding whose jeeting paesed all
bonnde. He was for many years in the service of the emperor.
He has written a *dīān* containing nearly three thousand
couplets. This is one of his complets —

" The martyr who suffers death by the sword of his injustice
enjoys life eternal
Perhaps the master armoner who tempered the sword
used the water of life "

The idea contained in this couplet closely resembles that in
the compleat of Mir Ashkī, 3 already quoted, namely —

1 It is difficult in translation to preserve the pun on حُسْنٌ ('humanity,'
'urbanity') and حُسْنٌ ('a human being')

2 Raughani is not mentioned in the *Aīn*. In the *Tubaqat* he is thus
described, " He was for many years in the emperor's service. He had a
bitter tongue as a lampooner "

3 *Vide supra* no XI

"Those slain by thy cruelty lie scattered here and there
like drunken men ;
It would seem that thy sword was tempered with wine
instead of water."

The following verses are also by Raughani :—

235 "I weep not for her cruelty, for I fear that my rival
Might guess from my weeping whose cruelty was its
cause." —

"My burning heart in her hands and beneath her feet is
like a live coal,
Which a boy in sport takes up and quickly flings away."

"Thy dignity so plants upon the mountains the foot of
clemency
That fountains of water flow from each vein of it."

"O messenger ! Give her by word of mouth an account of
my condition,¹ for in my letter
There are many words which have flowed from my pen
while I was beside myself."

"The messenger gives me news of her coming
In order that the force of my desire for her may draw me
to the road by which she is to pass."

In the year H. 980 (A.D. 1572), when the imperial army was marching towards Gujārāt,² Raughanī died beneath the fort of Ābūgarh³ and was buried there. Qāsim Arsalān⁴ made the following chronogram on his death :—

¹ Or, 'my desire' if the variant شوق be accepted.

² When Akbar was marching to the conquest of Gujārāt, which was annexed to the empire at the end of 1572. *Vide* vol. ii, text, pp. 139—

149.

³ Mount Ābū in Rājputāna, now a well-known sanatorium.

⁴ *Vide supra*, p. 251.

"Like a dog he delivered up his soul to the abode of infidelity"¹

LIII ZAIN KHĀN KŪKĀ²

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In playing Hindū music, beating the drum, and other accomplishments of that sort he is unrivalled in this age. Although he cannot be said to have any other accomplishments, save calligraphy and transcription, yet he sometimes composes a couplet. The following is one of his couplets —

"This world, which moves crookedly, gives me no rest,
Until I have threaded my needle with the thread of my desire"

LIV. SULTAN OF SAPLIK³

Saplak is a village in the Qandahār district. The vulgar in India call him Siplaki (Sipkali) with a *kasr* to the *bā*, which

¹ The numerical values of the letters, added together give ०१, or one year in excess of the correct date.

² Zain Khan was the son of Khwaja Maqṣud 'Alī, a servant of Akbar's mother and Pica Jan Anaga, one of Akbar's nurses. As he was thus Akbar's foster brother, he was called kūkā. The daughter of Khwaja Hasan (Zain Khan's paternal uncle) married Sultan Salim (Jahangir) and was the mother of Sultan Parviz. In A.D. 1595-96 Sultan Salim married Zain Khan's daughter. Zain Khan was employed against the Afghans in the campaign in which Bir Bar fell. In 1586 he operated successfully against the Mahrandas and Ghuris near Peshawar, and in 1587 was appointed governor of Zābulistan. In 1588 he moved against the Yusufzais, and, after eight months' fighting, subdued them. In 1589 he was employed against rebellious Zamindars in the Himalayas and subdued them. In 1590 he was made a commander of four thousand and in 1595-96 a commander of five thousand. He died in 1601-02 partly from excessive drinking. *Vide Ain-i-Akbari trans Blochmann, 1, 344.* In the *Tabaqat* he is given a title, apparently a *takhallus*, which I cannot understand. It reads *Al Fathaba*. The text of the Lakhnau edition of the *Tabaqat* is very corrupt.

³ I have not been able to find the village 'Saplak' and therefore cannot be sure that the vowels in this are correct. MSS (A) and (B) read سپلک 'Sapkali' or Sipkali, and this reading agrees better than that in the text with the Indian nickname given to the poet. *Vide infra.*

means 'a lizard,'¹ and this greatly offended him, and he used to say, "What can I do, though they call me by the name of such a dirty carrion creature?" He was a devotee girt as to the loins and unfettered by conventions. On the day on which he saw Mullā Qāsim Kāhi² he asked him his age. Qāsim replied, "I am two years younger than God." Sultān said, "My dear sir, I took you to be two years older. I fear you are deducting from your years." Mullā Qāsim laughed and said, "You are worthy to associate with us." It may be noted that as Mullā Qāsim Kāhi was a great plagiarist he probably borrowed this speech from Shaikh Bāyazīd of Bustām³ who said, "I am younger than my Lord by two years." This is one of the ravings of the *Sūfīs*, and some men of God have interpreted it to mean, "I am younger than God (may He be honoured and glorified!) by two years, i.e. in two qualities, that is to say self-existence and omnipotence"; for a creature may display all divine attributes and qualities except these two; for the brand of accidental existence and dependence can never be removed from the forehead of a created being. I ask forgiveness of God for this nonsense and these ravings!

Sultān had a disposition well attuned to poetry. When he saw the Khānzamān,⁴ who also used Sultān as a poetical name, and presented to him an ode in his praise, the Khānzamān sent him, as a reward for it, a thousand rupees and a robe of honour,
237 together with a request that he would, for his sake, change his poetical name. He sent back the gift and said, "Sultān Muḥammad is my name, which was given to me by my father. How can I give it up? Moreover, I wrote poetry under this

¹ كيلانس I cannot discover this word, but its meaning is clear. *Kasr* is the short vowel *i*, but *Bādāoni* is wrong in attaching it to the *bā* or *pā*. He should have attached it to the *sīn*. The vulgar apparently called the poet either *Sipkali* or *Siplakī*. ^{چپکلی} (Chipkali) is the Hindūstānī word for the common house-lizard, which lives on flies and insects. سپلک (Siplak) is a Dakānī corruption of the same word.

² Vide no. II.

³ Vide p. 7 and note 1.

⁴ Vide the next biography.

namo many years before you did, and obtained much fame by it" The Khānzamān said, "If you do not give up the name I will throw you under the feet of an elephant," and being enraged, he had an elephant brought to the spot Sultan said "Ah, what good fortune is mine, that I shall attain martyrdom!" After the Khānzamān had threatened and intimidated him for a long time, Maulana 'Alānd dīn Lāri,¹ the Khānzaman's tutor, suggested that an ode should be selected from the *dirān* of the reverend Maulānā Jāmī,² (may God hallow his tomb!) which was at hand, and that if Sultān could answer it extemporaneously he should be pardoned, but if not the Khanzaman should do with him as he had proposed From the *dirān* of the reverend master (may his tomb be hallowed!), this ode was selected —

The writing of God's creation know the writing on thy heart,

And know the invisible proofs of kingship on the heads of boardless boys

Sultān Muhammad recited an extemporary ode, the opening couplet of which is —

"Whoover has regarded his heart as the shell containing the pearl of God's secret

Has rightly appraised his own jewel '

Although this ode was no great matter the Khānzamān was exceedingly pleased and praised it, and, having given the poet twice the reward which he had given before, dismissed him with honour But Sultan could no longer stay in that place, and without the Khānzamān's leave he came thence to Badaoo, and afterwards travelled through the country, and went to the

¹ Vide *Ām-i Akbars* trans Blochmann, p 540 According to the Ām he was learned in philosophy and theology He came from Laristān, and is hence called *Lari* He was the son of Maulana Kamāl nd dīn Hnsain, and studied under Maulana Jalal Dawwānī Shāfi'ī He was for some time Akbar's teacher Once at a *darbar* he placed himself before the Khan-i A'yam, when the Mir Tuzak told him to go back Why should not a learned man stand in front of fools 'said he and left the hall, and never came again He got 4000 *bigas* as *suyurgāl* in Samhabal wheres he died

² The celebrated Persian poet who died in A.D 1493 94

Dakan. In the year in which the four kings of the Dakan formed a confederacy and after a great battle in a stricken field 238 conquered Vijayanagar,¹ and destroyed that famous idol-temple, which was a veritable mine of disbelief, Sultān Muḥammad was with their army and acquired great store of plunder, and returned, but no further information regarding him is to be had. It was, indeed, the height of courtesy on his part to enter into a dispute with his betters and to refuse the request, so courteously made by a man like the Khānzamān, that he would change his poetical name.

In reply to the following opening couplet by Ghazāli,² viz.—

“Devotee, true knowledge of God lies not in the patched robe, the rosary, and the tooth-stick,³

Acquire mystical love, for these other things have nothing to do with the comprehension of God,”

he wrote,

“Though the dust of envy has settled on my rival’s heart I have no fear,

This is clear to me, that the mirror of his heart is not clean.”

¹ The great Hindu empire of the Carnatic. The four Kings were ‘Ali ‘Ādil Shāh I of Bijāpūr, Ḥusain Nizām Shāh I of Ahmadnagar, Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh of Gulkanda, and ‘Ali Barid Shāh of Bidar. The allied armies of these kings met Sadāshivarāya, Rājā of Vijayanagar, and his brothers Timma and Venkatādri, on the field of Talikota on January 23, 1565, and, in one of the most decisive battles ever fought in India, utterly overthrew the Hindu empire of the south which had for two centuries withstood the attacks of the independent Muhammadan Kings of the Dakan, first the Bahmanis and afterwards the lesser dynasties of Bijāpūr, Gulkanda, Ahmadnagar, Bidar, and Berār. *Vide* ‘Historic Landmarks of the Deccan,’ by Major T. W. Haig, pp. 129—132. Bādāoni, like all Muhammadan writers, styles Vijayanagar ‘Bijānagar.’

² *Vide* p. 239, no. I.

³ A twig of a tree used as a substitute for a tooth-brush. It is about a span long, split at one end and chewed to render it softer. The twig is used only once and is then thrown away. The European manner of using one tooth-brush repeatedly until it is worn out is regarded with disgust in the east.

The following are other verses by him —

"My love sits sometimes in my eyes and sometimes in my heart,
She rests nowhere, she must be bewitched "

"How can I liken thy eyebrow to the new moon, for I
Have seen the new moon in every hair of thy eyebrow ?"

LV SULTĀN¹

This is the poetical name of the Khānzamān. As the events of his life are well known, not only from this selection, but from every history of Hindustān, any further account of him would be merely a repetition. He wrote these verses —

"Slender as a hair is thy waist,
No wider than the end of that hair is thy mouth "

Whoa ho published abroad the ode which begins thus, many of 239 the poets of that province² wrote odes to compete with it. One began as follows —

"I said, 'Thy mouth is no mere substantial thou an idea,'
She said, 'The idea that thou hast formed is correct.'

I composed the following —

"Thy mouth is the fountain of Khurr,³
Thy tongue is a fish in that fountain "

In these days I prefer to repeat sincerely of such poetry and versification, which I published freely in the days of my ignorance, but which now appear to me to be a vain accomplishment.

¹ Vide p 182 n 2 where a brief account of the career of 'Ali Quli Khan, Khānzamān, is given. He rendered most important services in the early years of Akbar's reign and Mr Blochmann justly says, "Next to Bairam the restoration of the Mughal dynasty may be justly ascribed to him". The disaffection displayed by him in later days may perhaps be ascribed to mental derangement. His infatuation for Shālām Beg and its consequences seem to have been the beginning of this derangement and his successes in the field seem to have converted it into what may be called megalomania.

² Jaunpur

³ The guardian of the water of life

The following verses are by the Khānzamān :—

“ Cease, my heart, from weeping and wailing continually like a bell,

Make, my heart, to none complaint of the cruelty of thy love.”

“ O breeze, in the court of my love, in that language which thou knowest

Make my supplication before her, as thou canst.”

“ I have a charmer whose face is like the rose, and like hyacinths her hair,

Her rippling locks of hyacinth fall over rose-petals.”

“ My love, the darling of no other is like thee,

No other lover is distracted like me.”

“ O infidel boy,¹ we drink no cup at thy hands

We are drunk from another cup, with the wine of

‘ Am I not your Lord ? ’ ”²

¹ مُنْجَدٌ ‘the magician boy,’ a favourite simile for a handsome cupbearer.

² السَّتْ. The reference is to the Qur’ān, Sūrah vii, 168.

وَإِنَّا أَخْذَ رَبِّكَ مِنْ بَنِي آدَمَ مِنْ ظُهُورِهِمْ ذِرِينَمْ وَأَشْعَدَهُمْ عَلَى إِنْقَاصِمْ
السَّتْ بِرِّيكَمْ قَالُوا يَا لَنِي شَهَدْنَا

“ And when thy Lord drew forth their posterity from the loins of the sons of Adam, and took them to witness against themselves, saying, ‘ Am I not your Lord ? ’ They answered, ‘ Yea: we do bear witness.’ ” The commentators tell us that God stroked Adam’s back, and extracted from his loins his whole posterity, which should come into the world until the resurrection, one generation after another; that those men were actually assembled all together in the shape of small ants, which were endued with understanding; and that after they had, in the presence of the angels, confessed their dependence on God, they were again caused to return into the loins of their great ancestor.

The Khanzamān's brother, Bahādur Khān,¹ also had some poetic genius, and wrote an ode which is reproduced below on 240 the theme of that ode of Mulla Āṣ-ṣīfī's which begins.—

"The night of grief has much embittered my lot

Where is the morning? For rust has settled on my mirror."

Bahādur Khān's ode.²

"The wanton, cruel charmer has taken a stone in his hand,
As though he would attack me, the weary one
My moon faced darling sits on the throne of beauty,
He is a king, seated on his throne.

Without thee, Bahādur, they will not cease from their
wailing and their wine-bibbing
For they have taken from thee the flute of grief."

In accordance with the saying, "the words of kings are the kings of words" this appears to be a sufficiency of the poetry of these two.³

¹ Muhammad Sa'īd Shāhibzādah, Bahādur Khān, younger brother of 'Ali Qāsim Khān, Khanzamān. After Kamālūn's return from Persia he planned a rebellion, which failed. He was pardoned by Akbar and received Sultanate jagir. He assisted in the conquest of Mālwā, and was subsequently governor of Itāwa. He took an active part in the second rebellions of his elder brother. After his capture Shāhibzādah Khan Kamālu killed him by Akbar's order.

² The text hero has, wrongly, elided ('opening couplet'). The whole ode is quoted. The MSS wrongly divide the couplets of the ode, as though they were isolated couplets from odes.

³ It is not easy to decide here whether Badoni is serious or ironical in his quotation of the proverb. It is evident that he had some admiration for the Khanzamān, as he has blamed Sultan of Sankar for not acceding to the Khanzamān's most unreasonable request. On the other hand Bahādur Khān's ode appears to refer to Shaham Beg — my King — as the Khanzamān used to call him — and it is possible that the proverb is a reference to the title given by the Khanzamān to Shaham Beg in his infatuation. Badoni repented of his own serious lips from morality, and became one of the 'uncon'gould,' and it is perhaps in virtuous indignation that he says that he has had enough of the poetry of "these two" scil., the Khanzamān and his brother.

LVI. SAIRĪ.¹

He was a *qāzī*² and a theologian of cheerful disposition. He came to India and died, having acquired honour by performing the pilgrimage of Islām. In prosody, and rhyming, and the composition of enigmas he was unrivalled. The following quatrain is by him :—

“Sairī, take up thy abode in the sanctuary of the soul and the heart,
Withdraw thy sight from this form compounded of water and earth;
Everything, save the knowledge of God, is naught,
Forsake everything, and acquire this knowledge.”

These verses also are by him :—

“She does not close that narcissus-like eye on account of ophthalmia,
She shuts the door of mercy on grief-stricken lovers.”

“Preacher, miscall me not for my devotion to my idol,
For God’s sake torment me no more.”

LVII. SİPHİRİ.³

He is Mīrzā Beg, brother’s son to Khwāja Aminā,⁴ who was known as Khwājā Jahān. He has written a *divān*. The following verses are the fruit of his brilliant intellect :—

¹ Sairī is mentioned neither in the *Aīn* nor in the *Tabaqāt*.

² A judge, civil, criminal and ecclesiastic.

³ He is not mentioned in the *Tabaqāt*. Mr. Bloehmann says (trans. *Aīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 424) that his *takhallus* was Shahrī. This is a mistake, as the third couplet given below shows.

⁴ Khwāja Amīn-ud-dīn Maḥmūd of Hirāt, Khwāja Jahān, an excellent accountant and a distinguished calligraphist. He accompanied Humāyūn in his flight to Persia and, on Humāyūn’s return, was made *bakhshī* to Akbar. He received his title, and the rank of commander of one thousand, on Akbar’s accession. He was accused of want of loyalty during the rebellion of the Khānzamān, and was dismissed to Makkah. On his return he was pardoned. He died near Lakhnau in Nov. 1574 from the result of an accident which occurred to him when he was convalescent from sickness.

"Soften with a smile the poison of thy nugry eys,
As bitter almonds are made swest by ths addition of salt."

"My wandering heart passed by tho street of calamity,
It is strange that my heart wandered without thee.¹ Its
action was strange."

"Sipihri, take, like tho tulip, a cup in tho king's round,²
Now that tho heart has blossomed and the rose-garden
smolls sweet."

"The king of exalted rank, Humāyūn, the dust of whose door
In dignity far oxeols tho heavens."

LVIII. SAYYĀFI³

He was a servant of Bairam Khān⁴ and tho Khān sent by his
hand a sum of seven thousand rupees as an offering to tho shrine
of his holiness the Imām Rīzā⁵ (on whom be blessings and praise!).
Having spent all this money he was there called to account by
Shāh Tahmāsp and in the year H. 974 (A.D. 1566-67) was
released from torture (by death). These couplets are by him:—

"Whon my sallow countenance appeared in the mirror,
Tho mirror, from the reflection of my face, became an
antamn leaf."

"My narrow breast, in which lodges grief for tho abssued of
my love,
May yst bo so situated that jey will leave in it no room for
my soul."

¹ بی توا as in MS. (A). The text has جو می which does not make sense.
This couplet and the one preceding it are transposed in both MSS.

² درو 'a round of the wine-cup'

³ He is mentioned neither in the *Jin* nor in the *Tabaqāt*. MSS. (A) and
(B) give his *takhallus* as Siyāqī

⁴ Khānkhānān. Tutor to Akbar and regent of the empire during his
minority. He was a Shī'ah

⁵ The eighth imām of the Shī'ahs, whose shrine is at Maṣḥhad.

LIX. SAHMI.¹

He chose his poetical name from the profession of his father, who was an arrow-maker. He grew up in the service of Mirzā Aziz Kūka² and, since he has been addicted to poetry from the age of ten, he has become thoroughly versed in it, and is famous throughout the world. In reply to that ode by Ummīdī the mystic,³ which begins,

“Thou art the king of the kingdom of beauty,
We are beggars enjoying the spectacle,”

he was one day reciting an ode of his own before the court. When he came to the hemistich,

“I am a pure *Sunnī* and come from *Bukhārā*,”

Lashkar Khān,⁴ the paymaster in chief, who was a *Khurāsānī* suspected of heresy, though he did not openly profess it,⁵ said, “Then, Mullā, there is also such a thing as an impure *Sunnī*?” Mirzā ‘Aziz Kūka said on the spur of the moment, “You, for example.”

Qasim Arsalān has the following quatrain referring to Sahmī.

¹ Sahmī is not mentioned in the *Āīn* nor in the *Tubaqāt*.

² *Khān-i-A‘zīz*, son of Ataga *Khān* and Jī Jī Anaga, and foster-brother of Akbar.

³ Or, ‘of Rai.’

⁴ Muhammad Husain of *Khurāsān*. He was for some time Mīr Bakhsī and Mīr ‘Arz but was dismissed. One day he came drunk to court and challenged the courtiers to fight him. Akbar punished him by tying him to the tail of a horse and imprisoned him. He was subsequently released and attached to the Munīm *Khān*’s corps in Bengal. In the battle of Takarōī (March 3, 1575) he was severely wounded. His wounds began to heal but he did not take sufficient care of his health and died, a few days after the battle in Urīsa. *Vide Āīn-i-Akbarī*, trans. Blochmann, i, 407.

⁵ Wherever *Shī’ahs* are in the minority they practise, if necessary, *taqiyyah*, (فَيْجَزُ ‘fear,’ ‘caution,’ or ‘pious subterfuge’), i.e. they act as though they were *Sunnīs*. A *Shī’ah* may even vilify his own sect, if his personal safety require it. *Vide Āīn-i-Akbarī*, trans. Blochmann, i, 338, n. 2. Bādāoni relates with evident glee this snub administered to a suspected *Shī’ah*.

"Sahmi, Tariqī,¹ and Faridūn² are thieves,
 They are thieves like the cat, the jackal, and the monkey,
 Take care not to recite your poetry before them
 For these two or three poets will steal the lines from you"

The following are some lines from Sahmi's ode written in answer to one by³ Ummidi: —

"The thought of thy mole has ever had its place in my heart, 243
 I did not mention this scar to thee, but it remained on my heart
 I sowed the seed of hope in the field of love,
 But obtained no crop save a crop of despair,
 When thou sawest in the mirror the reflection of thy cruel face
 The mirror melted before it from shame"

"This is not the new moon that has risen to the highest point of the heavens,
 It is a sword hung in the air for the purpose of slaying me"⁴

"The new moon of the 'Id was likened to the arch of her eyebrow

¹ The text has 'Zirifi' I follow M^q (A) as Qasim Arsīn was evidently speaking of poets at Akbar's court. Vide infra, no LXXIX.

² No Faridūn is mentioned as a poet in the *Ain* or the *Tabaqat*, or in this work Qasim Arsīn may have been referring to Faridūn Khan material unole to Mirza Muhammād Hakim, or more probably to Mirza Faridūn Barlas, a commander of five hundred, son of Shāhīmād Qāli Khan Barlas. Mirza Faridūn Barlas served in Sind and, in A.D. 1592-93 accompanied Jani Beg to court. Under Jahangir he was rapidly promoted and held, in the eighth year, a command of two thousand when he served under Sultān Khurram against Rāna Amar Singh. He died during the expedition. Vide *Ain-i-Akbari*, trans. Blochmann, i. 342, 478 and *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, 126, 133.

³ Not the ode quoted above

⁴ 'A sonnet to his mistress' eyebrow.'

If the simile were just there would be ever another¹ new moon at her side."

"Her mouth is like the end of a hair in its delicate proportions, but see

How the sword of her tongue in speech splits the hair."²

244

"Thou camest before me in order to vex my wounded heart,
What evil have I done that thou hast thus come before
me?"

LX. SAQQĀ.³

His name was Bahrām. He was a devotee who believed that he had attained the stage of annihilation.⁴ He was one of the disciples of Shaikh Hājī Muḥammad Khabūshānī (may his tomb be hallowed!), and was in some measure mysteriously attracted towards God.⁵ He constantly traversed the streets of Āgra with a few pupils, giving water to the people of God, and while he was thus employed his tongue would be uttering refreshing verses. One of the sons of his religious guide came to India, and to him he gave all that he possessed, and would have given more, had it been possible, and he then set forth on foot,

¹ i.e. the poet himself, who is wasted by love to the similitude of a new moon.

² The Persian metaphor is the same as the English. The *double entendre* refers to the opening of the mouth in speech.

³ This poet's name is not given in the text, nor in the MSS., though the first sentence is so framed as to lend us to expect a mention of his name. I have supplied it from the *Āīn-i-Ākbarī*. In the *Āīn* (trans. Blochmann, i, 581, and n. 1) he is thus described, "Darvīsh Bahrām. He is of Turkish extraction, and belongs to the Bayāt tribe. The prophet Khizr appeared to him, and a divine light filled him. He renounced the world and became a water-carrier." The Bayāt tribe is a Turkish tribe scattered over Āzārbāījān, Irvān, Tīhrān, Fārs and Nīshābūr. Bahrām is worshipped as a saint. His mausoleum is in Bardwān in Bengal.

⁴ This *Sufi*-istic term indicates selflessness, or the annihilation of self, the will being entirely delivered over into God's keeping.

⁵ خالی از جذب نبود. For the technical meaning of the words بذب and جذب *vide* p. 7, n. 4.

alone and destitute, for Sarandib,¹ and on the way to Ceylon the torrent of annihilation swept away the chattels of his existence and in that infidel land some person guided by a sign from the prophet (the blessing and peace of God be upon him!) appeared, no one knew whence, and arranged for the obsequies of Saqqa, (may God water his grave!)

He collected several *divāns* of his own poems and whenever he was overcome by religious ecstasy he would wash the ink from the pages of the *divāns*, one by one, but the remains of his poems form a large *īravān*. The following verses are part of the outcome of his clear and sparkling intellect —

"I am thrown into bewilderment each time I regard the mele
on His cheek,

I distractedly encompass that spot like the leg of a pair of
compasses tracing a circle around its centre

I, distraught as I am, have withdrawn my gaze from fair
creatures for this reason

That I have in the nest of my heart a Friend of my soul
like Thee" —

"I have broken the foundations of austerity that I might
see what would come to pass,

I have sat in the market place of ignominy, that I might
see what would come to pass"

"I see my poor mad heart distracted with the love of Thy
face,

I see it encompassed on every side with the chains of Thy
locks"

"This day from weeping am I plunged in my heart's blood,
Ah, heart! cause not my head to burst this day with
weeping"

¹ Ceylon. The word used immediately afterwards is سیلان Silan), referring to the same place. The latter word is used in order to run with سیل (sail) 'a flood' 'a torrent'. The account of Saqqa's obsequies may

"The love of that beloved one with garments like the rose
has again grasped me by the collar,
Ah, now, at last, it has rent my garment from collar to
skirt."¹

LXI. SIPAHI.²

245 He was the grandson of the famous Khwāja Kalān Beg.³
This quatrain is by him.

"Alas, that the season of the rose has passed so quickly,
Alas, that it has passed in the twinkling of an eye!
Without thy eyes and the down on thy cheek the violet
and the hyacinth
Pass their days in blindness and in mourning."⁴

He died in Āgra in the year H. 978 (A.D. 1570-71).

LXII. SARMADĪ OF IŞFAHĀN.⁵

His name is Sharif. He was for some time a roster-keeper,
and now holds some appointment in Bengal under Sharif Amali.

be accepted with a grain of salt. As Saqqā's tomb is in Bardwān he probably died in Bengal on his way to Ceylon.

¹ These verses are all mystical. The Beloved, in each case, is God, who is spoken of, after the fashion of the Sūfīs, as though He were a human object of love. The couplet beginning "I have broken the foundations" probably means that the poet, having apprehended the esoteric meaning of divine love, has ceased to follow the ceremonial observances of Islām, and has thus rendered himself obnoxious to the formally pious.

² This poet is mentioned neither in the Āīn, nor in the Tabaqāt.

³ The Governor of Qandahār under Mīrzā Kāmrān. The Shāh of Persia captured Qandahār from him.

⁴ كبودي 'blue-ness,' applicable both to the violet and to the hyacinth. Blue, like black, is the colour of mourning. It may, perhaps, also signify blindness, with reference to the bluish film which forms in cases of cataract.

⁵ Muḥammad Sharif, Sarmadī, was a commander of two hundred. He was sent to Bengal with Sharif Amali in A.D. 1591-92 and in the following year was fighting in Uṛisā against Rām Candra, Rājā of Khurda. He is said to have died in the Dakān. In the Āīn (i. 607) he is thus described, "His name is Sharif. He possesses some knowledge, is upright, and zealous in the performance of his duties. His rhyme is excellent. He understands arithmetic." The Tabaqāt has, 'Sharif-i-Sarmadī is an

He at first assumed Faizl as his poetical name, but when Shaikh Faizl submitted a complaint to the emperor on the subject he abandoned his pretensions, and chose Sirmadi as his poetical name. He has some poetic genius. The following verses are by him:

"Since the sword of the coquettres of that naughty beauty has been raised,

Spectators from afar have stretched out a hundred necks to receive its blow." —

"When thou camest to my house with the fumes of wine in thy head and roses under thy arm

'The very dust of this house of grief put forth blossoms to see the sight of thy arrival'" —

"Since in contempt I set my foot upon both worlds
Neither joy nor sorrow has had any power over my heart"

LXII. SAQI OF THE JAZI'R'

He is an 'Arab, and his father Shaikh Ibrahim was a learned theologian whom the Shi'ahs, after their mode of belief, regarded as an infallible religious guide. He settled in Mashhad, and Saqil was born there. Saqil has acquired some learning, and is 246 of a cheerful disposition and eloquent. He came from the Dakhan to Hindustan, and is now in Bengal. The following verses are by him —

Ishah, and is one of the servants of this court'. He was apparently a Shi'ah, for Balout (text n. 333) thus abuses him 'Sharif Sarmahi,' the roster keeper, regarding whom somebody has said —

"There are two roster keepers, both of them vile

One is anything but precious and the other a ything but noble"

The two epithets in the second hemistich refer to the names of the two men, the second referring to Sharif.

1 Thus described in the *Ain* (§ 593) 'He belongs to the Arabians of the Jaz'I'r'. He has acquired some knowledge' *جزری* (*al-jazir*) 'the islands' is the Arabic form of Algiers, but the term here probably refers to the islands of the Persian Gulf.

" From my soul, as I weep, arises a sigh of grief,
Even as smoke arises when water is thrown on fire."

" I grieve not for the cruelty of my love
Lest my grief should become a cause of joy to others."

" When she passes by me in wrath the tears flow from my eyes,

" Just as tears flow from eyes dazzled by the sun's rays."

" My heart flutters lest thou should have come to it in thy sleep.

Whenever there comes before me any person heavy with sleep."

An ode.

" In my desire for thy eyelashes each breath loads my heart with blood,

In order that it may bring me once more into thy hand.

My heart obtained a glance from thee which made my soul thy prey. Aye,

An arrow which has struck the mark steadies the aim.

My heart is, as ever, ardent with love; thou art, as ever, indifferent.

Sāqī, describe to her thy pain, before she publishes it abroad."

LXIV. SAYYIDI.¹

His name is Sayyid Shāh, and he has already been mentioned. He comes of the Sayyids of the Garmṣīr² who settled in Kālpī.

¹ Sayyidi is not mentioned as a poet either in the *Aīn* or in the *Tubaqāt*. The only person of his name previously mentioned in this work is Sayyid Shāh Mir of Sāmāna. *Vide* p. 174.

² Garmṣīr, a hot, low-lying tract. There are two districts to which the name is given, viz.:—the north-eastern coast of the Persian Gulf, and the valley of the Halmund in Sīstān and south-western Afghānistān. The latter is probably intended.

He is of a cheerful disposition and is pleasant in conversation and is to some extent imbued with religious mysticism. He is the disciple of Shaikh Salim Chisti. He was for some time in the emperor's service, but it was his fate to leave it, and he has 247 since spent his time in the service of various Amirs. He is now in Kabul with Qillj Muhammad Khan. I quote the following few couplets of his :—

"I am in the first pangs of love, and my heart is disquieted,
Like a child who trembles as he wakes from sleep."

"Since that stately cypress-like beauty made for herself a
necklace of roses,
I envy the roses, and the roses envy her shift"

"From my strayed heart the breeze obtained no news of
what had happened,
Although thy two locks spread their tresses to the wind."¹

"Reverence forbids me to set foot in my house,
Since the whole house has been filled with the effulgences
of thy face."

"I utter not a word of the secrets of thy favours and thy
chiding,
No sound arises from him who has been killed in sub-
mission to thee."

"Although there remains to nobody in the reign of the
king of the world
Anything but a draught of water and a patched garment,
Yet thinks a hundredfold are due to God that poverty
has become universal,
That there remains no envy among the people."

¹ "Although thy locks were careless in keeping their secret my heart
did not betray it,"

"I wrote an ode in thy honour, lord of generosity,
 Which was a faithful index of the volume of thy virtues
 and perfections,
 But the generosity which thou showdest to me in return
 for it was so slight,
 That my hope of benefiting by thy wealth was destroyed.
 Thy generosity was not an equivalent for my poetry,
 Keep, then, thy generosity, and return my poetry."

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"God forbid that I should have a heart that never ex-
 periences pain,
 An arrow is better in the breast than a dead heart."

LXV. SHĀH ABŪ-'L-MĀ'ĀLĪ.¹

He has been mentioned in the historical record of the reign. He was a man of cheerful disposition and had good taste in poetry. I reproduce these few couplets of his :—

¹ Shāh Abū-'l-Mā'ālī was one of Humāyūn's *Amīrs* and did valuable service on Humāyūn's return from Persia. He was of the family of the Khwajas of Kāshghar. He is not mentioned among Akbar's *Amīrs* either in the *Aīn* or in the *Tabaqat*. For an account of his murder of Shīr 'Alī Beg *vide* vol. ii (text pp. 9 *et seq.*) Early in Akbar's reign he was imprisoned in Lāhor but escaped, and, having persuaded Kamāl Khān the Gakkhar to join him in a futile invasion of Kashmīr, escaped to Dīpālpur. Here he was discovered and was sent to Gujarāt *en route* to Makkah. In Gujarāt he committed another murder and fled and joined the Khānzamān, who delivered him to Akbar. He was then imprisoned in Biyāna but was released by Bairām Khān when the latter fled from court. He left Bairām and joined Akbar, but having treated the emperor with disrespect, was sent off to Makkah. On his return he rebelled and then fled to Narnaul and thence to Kābul. Here he persuaded Cūcak Begum, mother of Muhammad Hākim Mīrzā, to give him her daughter in marriage. He next, in the course of an attempt to seize on the supreme power in Kābul, murdered Cūcak Begam. Muhammad Qāsim Kūhbar, Muhammad Hākim Mīrzā's *vakil*, then fled to Sulaimān Mīrzā in Badakhshān, who marched to attack Shāh Abū-'l-Mā'ālī. Muhammad Hākim Mīrzā left Shāh Abū-'l-Mā'ālī and joined Sulaimān. Sulaimān eventually captured Shāh Abū-'l-Mā'ālī and sent him to Muhammad Hākim, by whose orders he was strangled. (May 10, 1563).

"My soul, to keep company with strangers is not good,
 It is not good to associate with every beloved one and to
 leave one friendless
 It is pleasant sometimes to torment a lover, but kindness
 is also pleasant sometimes,
 To sit ever on the throne of scorn is not good
 Sit in the corner of separation, happy in the hope of
 re union
 To despair of the good fortune of seeing¹ the beloved one
 again is not good" —

"Beloved, I have been alone, and separated from thee
 I have been, for a purpose, a prisoner in the bonds of
 separation
 In every place have I read the story of thy love so often
 That on this account I am become a by-word in the
 world" —

"My heart suffere grief of a thousand descriptions on her
 account,
 If my grief kills me not what other boon shall I obtain
 from her?"

LXVI SAYRI²

He comes from a village called Kokūwāl³ in the Panjāb 249
 His father belongs to the Mājis,⁴ a large and well known tribe,
 and he used to say that his mother was a Sayyid by race. Although he is not of noble blood he has a disposition sufficiently noble, and leads a well regulated life. He studied under his father, Maulāna Yabysa, who wrote an ode with this opening couplet —

¹ جلوہ As in the MSS. The text has جلوہ which is not so good a reading.

² He is thus described in the *Ain* (i, 610) 'He belongs to a Panjabi family of Shikhs Under the patronage of his majesty he has become a good poet' He translated the *Hawains* into Persian. He seems to have been orthodox according to Badaoni's views (text n, 208, 209)

³ Or Khokhowal in the Barī Duab

⁴ I have not been able to obtain any information regarding this tribe

"I have bound my letter to thee with a white thread to signify
 That in my separation from thee no blood remains in the veins of my soul."

"Deprived of thy face my existence is a sea of pain and grief,
 My ribs are the waves of that sea."

"She comes to slay me, with the sword of cruelty in her hand.

Whatever men relate of injustice is committed by that cruel one.

251 "In the abundance of its hopefulness the heart believes that a messenger comes from Shirin
 To the unfortunate Farhād¹ even though it be Parviz himself that comes."

"Wherefore, O tear, dost thou traverse my eye
 When I bid farewell to my dear ?
 Where wert thou then, that thou now obscurest my sight ?
 O Zephyr, my beloved has entirely filled the mould of my desire,
 I am thy devoted servant, but thou wanderest overmuch in her street."

The following few couplets are from an ode of question and answer² by him :—

"I said, 'O heart, what is the cause of this change in the condition of the world ?'

My heart replied, 'Silence, the brain of heaven is thrown into confusion.'

¹ Farhād was the lover of Shirin, Parviz being her husband.

² A very common variety of the ghazal or qasidah, the form being a conservation between the poet and his heart, or his beloved,

That not all the verses that poets write pass as current coin

Just as nobody's wine is all clear.

Shiri, praise not the base,

For praise befits the noble.¹

Shiri's ghazals and magnavis are mere rubbish,

And this is intended neither for praise nor for blame,

But the fame of his odes and epigrams

Has reached the uttermost parts of the earth "²

The few verses quoted below are the productions of his brilliant wit —

"My heart is so enamoured of the beauty of Salmā³

That it wanders abroad with her heart in search of consolation

The remembrance of another by that heart in which thou dwellest

Is equivalent to the worship of 'Uzzā⁴ in the Ka'bah⁵

The beloved has so entirely surrounded herself with an array of coquetry,

That even desire found no way of access to her in that dense crowd "

—

"Bid the caravan move faster, that Egypt

May no longer send back to us the cries of Zulaikhā⁶
grieving for our absence"

¹ The verse may have two meanings: one, that which is apparent, and the other, that Shiri was not of sufficiently noble birth to be able to appreciate the qualities that call for such praise as is contained in oriental laudatory vers.

² Lit 'from Caucasus to Caucasus'. This last couplet is in both MSS., but has been carelessly omitted from the text.

³ A woman celebrated for her beauty, hence 'a beloved mistress'.

⁴ An idol worshipped by the 'Arabs before the days of Muhammad'.

⁵ The temple of Makkah.

⁶ The wife of Potiphar, who loved Joseph. For the Muhammadan version of the story see *Qur'an* xi.

The following two couplets are from an ode which he wrote on the utility of the elephant:—

“ How sweetly pass those nights in which, praying incessantly for the safety of the King’s elephant,
I read the chapter ‘night’¹ by the margin of the river
Biyāh ;
On the fair ones of Kūkūwāl with the gait of an elephant²
and the eyes of gazelles
I think every moment, and heave sighs from my bosom.”

The following is the opening couplet of an ode in which he enumerates six things as being necessary.

“ O thou who holdest the world in the grasp of thy wisdom
by the force of thy sword and thy arrow,
Crowned monarch of the throne and of fate,
Who conquerest the world by means of thy elephants and
thy horses,
Thy crown and thy throne, thy sword and thy arrow are
the sun, the moon, the lightning, and the meteor,
A hundred writers³ would be unable to reckon the number
of thy elephants and horses.”

As his *divān* is exceedingly well known I refrain from quoting any more of his verses.

At the time when he was employed on the translation of the *Mahābhārata*⁴ he said, “ These prolix fables resemble the dreams of a man in a fever.”

¹ The 92nd chapter of the *Qur’ān*.

² The gait of an elephant is regarded as peculiarly graceful.

³ دبیر (dabīr). Having regard to the similes in the preceding hemistich the reference is probably to the planet Mercury, called دبیر فلک (dabīr-i-falak) ‘the writer of the sky.’

⁴ The only translation with which Shirī is credited in the *Āīn* is that of the *Haribans*. The *Mahābhārata* was translated under the superintendence of Badāoni and Shirī was one of his collaborators. *Vide Āīn*, trans. Blochmann, i, 104, 106, Badāoni, text ii, 319.

I said, 'From the well of hope the water of desire is not to be had.'

It replied 'The well-rope of hope was not sufficiently long.'¹

I said, 'If there is any rest anywhere, tell me where it may be found ?'

It replied, 'In sleep, they say, the sleep of death.'

I said, 'Can anyone spend his life in joy ?'

It said 'This is mere speech, which never comes to pass.'

I said 'Why is the brow of the beloved one furrowed with a frown ?'

It said, 'It is ill to contend with one ill-disposed'

I said, 'The mirror of wisdom is covered with rust'

It said, 'Where is the burnisher, generosity, that it may once more receive a polish ?'

I said, 'The eloquent are the ornament of the assembly.' 252

- It said, 'Thou canst not say these things to the wealthy.'

I said, 'Alas for these men, who are far from the truth !'

It said, 'Let justice be done on this deceitful race, which follows injustice !'

I said, 'I have a detailed complaint to make against my fate.'

It said, 'To the King thou must relate it succinctly.'

I said, 'To Akbar, who resembles Jamshid in glory and Sulaiman in wisdom ?'

It said, 'Yes, the King of high destiny who in dignity resembles the sun.'

I said, 'That personality which is second only to the prophet in honour ?'

It said, 'Yes to that creature of God who surpasses all in beneficence.'

I said, 'By race and descent the crown and the throne are justly his.'

It said, 'His favour and liberality are the protection of his kingdom and his people.'

¹ i.e. the lover had not subsisted sufficiently long on hope.

"When will the deliciousness of love's grief be forgotten?
I have sprinkled that salt on the marrow of my bones."

LXVIII. SHUJĀ'Ī.

He is Saif-ul-Mulūk the physician.¹ One day when he came to treat a sick man Mir Sayyid Muhammed the cloth-weaver, who has the poetical name of Fikrī,² and is well known under the nickname of *Mir Rubā'i*, was employed with the patient. The Mir said of Shujā'i,

"A sharp sword³ is his worship, Maulavī Saif-ul-Mulūk,
Who has introduced a new fashion in the practice of medicine.

254 Yesterday Death said, when he had come to take the life of a sick man,
'Everywhere I go he has been called in first.'

The Maulānā (Saif-ul-Mulūk) composed the following 'increased' quatrain⁴ on the incontinence and gluttony of the Mir (Sayyid Muhammed),

"O Mir, how can five gallons⁵ of thick broth be contained—in one debilitated stomach?

*Si autem contineantur, quomodo continebit se penis tuus—ab intromissione primā?*⁶

¹ *Vide* c. iii, no. II, and *Ain-i-Akkari*, trans. Blochmann, i, 543; where he is called Ḥakīm Saif-ul-Mulk, Lang ('the lame').

² *Vide* no. CII.

³ The word سیف (saif) means 'a sword.' The title Saif-ul-Mulūk means 'the sword of kings.' Saif-ul-Mulk means 'the sword of the kingdom.' As has been said, Saif-ul-Mulūk was nicknamed *Saif-ul-Hukamā*, 'the sword of the physicians.'

⁴ A quatrain in which, after the metre and rhyme of each verse have been completed, an addition is made to it, prolonging the metre and completing the sense. In the example given I have placed a dash between the completed verse and the addition. In the text the words رباء مسند have been carelessly printed as though they were the heading of the account of a fresh poet.

⁵ Lit. دو مون (dū man) 'two maunds.'

⁶ I am not sure of the meaning of this line, as the poet uses a word which I

Mulla Shir'i's death occurred in the hilly country of the Yusufzais, in the year II 994 (A.D. 1586) as has been already mentioned¹

LXVII. SHAKIBI OF ISFAHAN²

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He came recently to India, and is in the service of the Khan-khanan, son of Bairam Khan³. He has good taste. The following verses are by him⁴—

' My nightly lamentations are still of some effect
 My broken bow has still an arrow which will reach its mark
 My heart is provoked by her absence, show me some mercy, O fate'
 For my hand is hampered in combat by my having a mountain's weight tied to my waist
 Scatter roses on the skirts of my friends, for he who is wounded to the heart by her absence
 Has, on the point of each eyelash, a hundred drops⁵ from his liver.'

"O God! Send me from heaven a market for my waree,
 I am selling my heart for a eight of my love, send me a buyer"

"My wares are anguish, not joy, why dost thou ask the price?
 Well I know that thou wilt not buy, and I will not sell"

¹ Vol. II, text 350. This was the battle in the course of which Raja Bir Bar, in Badaoni's words, "joined the dogs of hell."

² Not mentioned in the *Ain*. In the *Tatqiqat* he is thus described "Mulla Shakibi of Isfahan has acquired many accomplishments and has many praiseworthy qualities. He writes elegant verse. He is in the service of the Khan-khanan Mirza Khan son of Muhammad Bairam Khan."

³ Mirza 'Abdur-Rahim, son of Bairam Khan. Vide *Ain-i Akbari*, trans. Blochmann, i, 334.

⁴ MS. (A) has *اوست رای مدنی دلکش کیده* 'were distilled from his significant pen.'

⁵ Literally, 'pieces'

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My great Preserver¹ is harsh to me in a thousand ways,
But how shall He bring the poor Shū'ūrī into thy presence?"

"Love has entered, and seized the vein of my soul,
The bewilderment of seeing thee has made my tongue mute."

"Her wavy lock has fallen on her moon-like cheek,
A horse-shoe has been put into the fire for thee."²

"Thou didst promise to sow the seed of faithfulness.
What is faithfulness? To keep one's promises."

"The double chin³ of that beauty with eyebrows like the new moon
Is the reflection of the new moon in clear water."

"Nay, for when the sun rose in the heavens,
The moon appeared beneath his rays."

LXX. MULLĀ SĀDIQ HALWĀĪ⁴ OF SAMARQAND.

He is too honourable to be placed among the poets and reckoned along with the poets of this age. So to place him is a disgrace

¹ The verse is susceptible of the translation 'my favoured rival, etc.' but the epithet مَعْزَم (mu'azzam) appears to me to indicate the Deity. The ambiguity is possibly designed.

² 'Thy heart, like her hair, will be fixed on her cheek, and will be heated like a horse-shoe, in the fire of love.'

³ Fat is regarded as a beauty in the East.

⁴ The text has, wrongly, حلواني (Halwānī). Both MSS. have the correct reading. In the *Tabaqāt* he is thus described, "Mullā Sādiq Halwāī of Samarqand came from Makkah and paid his respects at court. He was for some years in Hindūstān and then went to Kābul, where he was engaged in teaching, and taught Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm. He is now in Samarqand." *Vide also Ain-i-Akbarī*, trans. Blochmann, i, 541, where he is called Maulānā Sādiq.

A tablet which will not contain a quatrain—written in the smallest writing¹

Will surely not contain a long ode—written in large text²"

The following versee are the production of the Maulāna's almost magical genius —

"Distracted with love the hair of thy head is dishevelled,
May I become a sacrifice for thy head, for thou hast traffic
with lovers" —

"A hair hae fallen from my love'a locks across her cheek,
Or is it perchance the thread of my soul lying across the
fire?" —

"Bster that I should be buried in the earth than that, for
the eake of base desires,
I should walk the earth to seek favou're from worldlings"

LXIX Sau'ul of TURBAT³

He is a student and practises book kssping The following versee are hy him —

"O thou who, for fear of being separated from thy love, art
in the agony of death
I give thee g'od newe, for she, whose breath is like that of
Mæh,⁴ is coming, nay, is come"

"The desire of seeing theo brings me, each moment, from my
house,

"Desire hae seized me by the collar, and draws me to thee
believe him to have coined I believe however that my translation is, at
least, approximately correct

¹ حکایت (Khāff-i Ghubdr) The smallest kind of handwriting 'like dust'

² تلخ (sulg) a large kind of naskh; handwriting used in engrossing

³ Shu'ur is not mentioned as a poet either in the Am or in the Tabaqat Turbat is either Turbat-i Haidari or Turbat-i Shaikh-i Jam, both in Khurasan

⁴ The Messiahs Muslmsns attribute the life giving miracles of our Lord to a miraculous quality in His breath and this simile is a favourite with poets

His death occurred at Āgra in the year H. 973 (A.D. 1565-66) or H. 972 (A.D. 1564-65) and the words 'Sabūhī the wine-bibber'¹ give the date of it.

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LXXII. SĀLIHĪ.²

He came from Hirāt and has good taste both in poetry and in prose composition. He is somewhat studious and writes a good hand. He was for some time employed as one of the secretaries, and then returned to his native land. He wrote the following couplet :—

"In the night of separation from thee, in my eye-sockets
The blood from my liver was so congealed that sleep could
not enter them." —

This was written in imitation of the following couplet of Amir Khusrav's :—

"I fenced my eyes in with a thorn-hedge of eyelashes
In order that neither thy image might leave them nor
sleep find entrance." —

The following are other verses by Sālihī :—

"With my two eyes, red with weeping during the grief of
the night of separation,

What shall I do, for these will be the roses of the day
when we meet ?

I have neither desire nor strength to associate with the
rose, that I should roam in the rose-garden, [ness³

And the scent of the roses suggests to me only unfaithful-
Like the dogs I have taken my place at thy threshold

In order that my rival may not enter in the guise of a
beggar."⁴"

¹ صبُوْحَى مِنْخَوار (Sabūhī-i-maiKhwār). The letters give the date 973. The word Sabūh or Sabūhī means 'a morning draught.'

² In the Āīn he is thus described, 'His name is Muhammad Mīrak. He traces his descent from Nizām-ul-Mulk of Tūs' (i, 583).

³ بِرْفَائِي as in MSS. (A) and (B). The text has شُنَاعِي, 'love' or 'familiarity,' which does not make such good sense.

⁴ i.e., as a suitor.

to him and a disgrace to me He is mentioned as a *Mulla* of good understanding, of pleasant speech, and full of apposite learning After many vicissitudes he came to India, and having devoted his attention to the successions¹ of self styled saints in this country, set most of them by the ears By the aid of the divine guidance he was led to make a pilgrimage to the sacred house of God,² and the other holy places,³ and in the year H 978 (A.D. 1570-71) he returned and set out for his native country, but Mirza Muhammad Hakim⁴ desired him to sojourn in Kahl and began to study under him At present he is living, honoured and respected, in 256 Transoxiana, where he is engaged in teaching and lecturing He has good taste in poetry and a sublime imagination He has written a *divan* These verses are by him —

" My heart is lost and no one can tell me whither it is gone,
Thy ruby lip is laughing, my suspicion rests on thee "

" There is no resting place but thy door for my wandering heart,
I said I would stray from thy door, but my heart would not depart "

" Thou hast returned like the sun from thy journey, O thou with a face like the moon!
Thou wentest away beautiful, and hast returned most beautiful "

" O thou with a face like the rose, I desire not to see thee like the snuff of a candle, in every assembly,
I desire not to see thee inclining, like the rose branch, in every direction

¹ The text seems to be corrupt here, but meaning is tolerably clear The word *silsilah* (*silsila*) denotes a regular line of saints by spiritual succession, and, hence, a religious order

² The Ka'bah at Makkah

³ Madinah, and other places of pilgrimage in the Hijaz

⁴ Akbar's brother, born A.D. 1554 died A.D. 1585

" Since my head was severed by that dagger of cruelty
 It remains, weltering in blood, in one place, and my sad
 heart in another
 Love, whether in separation or in union, is a source of
 pain,
Khusrau bewails his love in one place and Farhad¹ his
 in another "

LXXIII SADIQI²

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He was born in Qandahar but was a Hirati by origin. He
 was for some time in Hindustan and died. The following verses
 are his —

" So many wounds has my body received from thy sword
 That on whichever side I fall my heart falls to the
 ground." —

" The wounded heart pays no heed to the body,
 The martyr of love has no need of a shroud
 Since I have been created a man of straitened means
 Why have I no shawl in that month³?
 Of my body little is lost but a formless idea and that too,
 When closely regarded, is seen to be no more than my
 shirt " —

" On the day on which each man's lot was decreed to him
 by fate,
 The lot of others was joy, while mine was sorrow
 O my heart! Tell me not that that moonlike beauty
 comes in answer to my weeping
 So many thousands of lamentations have I uttered, and
 when did she come? "

¹ Khusrau was the husband and Farhad the lover of Shirin

² Sadiqi is mentioned neither in the *Ain* nor in the *Tabaqat*

³ There is a play here on the word *ku* (*tang*) 'strait' or 'narrow' as applied both to a man's means and to a lovely mouth which can not be reproduced in translation

What a pain is this, which has no remedy save the surrendering of one's soul !

When the manifest fever of my love is not visible to her,
How shall I inform her of my secret wounds ?

When that moon-like beauty walks abroad in the night in
vesture of the hue of the night

The brightness of dawn may be seen where her dress
opens at the neck.”

“I would that her breast could be cleft by my dagger
That my pure heart might see whether her heart is pure.”

“Her waist has entranced the hearts of men,
Has completely made away with the hearts of men.”

LXXVII. SĀLIH THE MADMAN.¹

He obtained from the emperor the title of ‘*Aqil*’ (‘the sagacious’). He is crazy about statuary. For some time he has laid it upon himself as a duty to eat nothing before he has sent five or six dishes of meat to be thrown into a river, a fountain, or a pond as an offering to *Khizr* (on him be peace). He used to hand these dishes to Qāsim, a native of India (who was a poet and the son of an elephant driver, and also a low-minded fellow), and Qāsim used to go out and invite *qalandars*² and other rascals to eat the food, and when (on his return) Sālih would say, ‘Ha, did you see the *Khwāja*? ’ the impudent rogue would reply, “Yes, his holiness the *Khwāja* deigned to eat the food with much relish, and sent you his blessing,” and would fabricate lying stories of this sort, which the madman believed. He had, however, some poetic genius, and to him might have been applied the saying :—

¹ Thus described in the *Tabaqāt*, “Muhammad Sālih the madman received the title of ‘*Aqil*. His father was said to be I'lāmī the librarian, who had been librarian to the emperor Humāyūn. Muhammad Sālih grew up from childhood in the service of the emperor Akbar and is now enjoying an allowance in Kābul. He is in easy circumstances and well-to-do.”

² قلندر a wandering religious mendicant, usually of loose habits.

LXXV. SARFI OF SĀWA.¹

He was for some time in Gujarāt with Khwāja Nizām-ud-dīn Aḥmad, and then came to Lāher and lived as a religious mendicant. When Shaikh Faizi was appointed to the Dakan he went with him, and thence journeyed to the next world. He has written a *diwān* and in long and short odes was a master of style. The following couplets are by him —

"I am debarred from traversing the road to the *Ka'bah*,
else would I have sent there,

The sole of a foot glad to endure the torment of collecting
its acaea thorns." —

"My rose-seller who wishes to bring her roses to market
Must first acquire strength to withstand the impetuous
throng of buyers." —

"If thou wishest to burn me light up the fire of thy cheek,
And so shall a light arise from my ashes till the day of 261
resurrection."

LXXVI. SABŪRI OF HAMADĪN.²

He was taken prisoner on the day on which the Khāzamān was slain, and though he escaped execution he did not escape death.³ His poetry is mediocre. These few verses are from his pen :—

"I have surrendered my soul and my heart, being no longer
able to bear the pain of separation from her,

¹ Thus described in the *Ain* (i, 586) "He is poor and has few wants, and lives content with his indigence." In the corrupt Lakhnau text of the *Tabaqat* he is called 'Mullā Ḥarfī of Sāwa,' and is thus described, 'He was in the company of this humble one (scil. the author, Nizām-ud-dīn Aḥmad) for some time in Gujarāt and was for some time at conit. He went with Malik ush Shu'arā Shaikh Faizi to the Dakan, and departed thence on the pilgrimage to the Hijaz.' His name seems to have been Ṣilāh-ud-dīn.

² Sabūri is mentioned neither in the *Ain* nor in the *Tabaqat*.

³ Vide p. 314, n. 1 The author's meaning apparently is that Sabūri died, either of wounds or of illness, soon after he was captured.

"Alas! for suddenly Mullā 'Ali
 Has been snatched from our midst by misfortune's victory.
 To ascertain the year of his death remember that the date
 of the year which followed it
 Is contained in the words 'Mullā 'Ali the *Muhaddis* is
 dead.'"¹

His sprightly genius, following the dictates of his taste, would sometimes employ itself in the composition of verses. (The 263 following are some of his verses.)

"My earthy body is so withered away from the scorching
 brand of separation
 That it escapes from my garments like dust, if I shake
 the skirt of my robe."

"Thy stately form is a plant in the garden of my soul,
 The plant of thy stature is more ethereal than my
 thoughts."

"I have plunged the pupil of my eye into water
 That it may not for a moment think of sleep."

"Since I have no honour among men,
 I seek to flee from men as my tears flow from my eyes."²

¹ مَوْلَى عَلِيٌّ مَوْرُدٌ giving the date A.H. 982. I have been obliged to give a somewhat full paraphrase of the hemistich preceding this, which has apparently puzzled the editor of the text, in order that the sense may not be lost. The editor of the text, in a footnote in which he gives an inferior variant of the hemistich, gravely remarks that the chronogram gives the date 982, not having understood, apparently that the composer of the chronogram has drawn attention to this fact, and expressly says that the date given in the chronogram is that of the year following that of the Mullā's death.

² There is here a play upon the words مَرْدُم (mardum) 'men' and مَرْدُم (mardum, for mardum-i-cashm) 'pupil of the eye' which cannot be reproduced in translation,

"Beautiful poetry emanates from the cross-grained Haider
Kalaj
Just as roses spring from a midden"

Sahib wrote the following couplet —

"Since the desire of her locks has fettered my feet,
My only way out of this baigun¹ is to surrender my
life"

Sahib was for some time a favoured and honoured courtier, then fell into disgrace and went to Kābul. He returned thence and was appointed to the trusteeship of the light diffusing shrine of the Sultan of Shaikh² (may God hallow his soul!), but did not accept the appointment, and, having obtained leave to return to Kābul, departed.

LXXVIII. TĀRANI.

He is Mulla 'Ali the Muḥaddīs,³ brother of the well-known Mulla Sadiq. He acquired his learning in the Sayings in Arabia, and was extremely pious and temperate. He came twice to India, and in the year n 981 (A.D. 1573-74) entered the protection of God's mercy, when the famous Mulla 'Alīn of Kahul⁴ made this chronogram on his death:

¹ This couplet contains the usual play on the words شوّس (Arabic) 'melancholy,' 'desire' and شوّس (Persian) 'traffic,' 'trade,' and also the common simile which likens the locks of the beloved to fetters.

² Shaikh Nizām ud din Auliya born at Budāon in Oct. A.D. 1236, and died at Dihli April 3, A.D. 1525. *Vide* vol. 1, *traces*, Ranking, pp. 71, n. 2, 236 and n. 2, 266 and n. 1, 267, 269, n. 5, 270 and n. 6, 271 no. 1 and 4, 284, 301, 610 and n. 4, 611, n. Also *Fusūl* n. 730, and the *Ain-i-Akbari*, iii 365.

³ علماء 'one learned in the sayings of Muhammad' (احاديث) mentioned below. Mulla 'Ali Tarani the Muḥaddīs is not mentioned in the *Ain*. For an account of his brother, *vide* p. 354.

⁴ *Vide* no. LXXIV.

press-like figure of that fair one
 "We saw the graceful cy
 depart,
 Although no one has seen
 er around me, or I will disgrace
 "Thou saidst, 'Do not hov
 and slay thee.' ee. Depart not from thy word."
 Still do I hover around th
 e into my mind in the hours of
 "When her two cheeks com
 sleep,oon and the sun in my dreams.
 All night long I see the m wert to come, although thou
 Remembering that thou
 comest not, oul, and distraction enters my
 Tranquillity leaves my s
 heart." ed, and no sympathy remains in
 "The pain of love is increas
 the world, and sympathetic, but he did not
 Majnūn was both afflicted
 remain in the world." ress, I have wholly cut myself off.
 "From this world, as a mist h nobody for such a thing as a
 That I might quarrel wit
 world." thout thee for a moment in the
 "It is impossible to live wi
 world, nobody can live without a soul."
 For thou art my soul, and
 what a stage this must have been
 "Nobody spoke, nor asked ast of the water-carriers of the
 In which Khizr was the l
 caravan." absence has captured the citadel
 "The army of grief for thy
 of my heart,

" Since I have cast my heart into the bonds of the tresses
of moonlike beauties
I have woven for myself a net of calamity "

LXXIX. TARIQI OF SIWA¹

He was a lewd old man and a buffoon² and was popular among most of the poets about the court by the mere force of his impudence

He at last had the honour of performing the holy pilgrimage (to Makkah), and died there. The following verses are by him —

" What business have lovers other than giving up their lives?
Since I fear not death what else should I fear? "

—
" From the toilsome pain of separation nobody has any life left "

" If this is separation nobody has any life left "

—
" In this land I have given my heart to a most cruel enslaver.
I have fallen into the snare of the locks of one with a face like a fanny "

—
" I am the faithful dog of him whose foot does not stray 264
beyond the skirts of his own power,
Who imposes obligations on none, and is under obligation to none "

¹ Thus described in the *Zabaqat*, 'Mulla Tarīqī spent some years in the emperor's service and at length performed a pilgrimage to the Hijaz where he died'. In note 3 on p. 598 of the *Am* (vol. 1) an epigram of his on Jndā'ī (p. 291) is quoted. He accuses Jndā'ī of plagiarism from Ashkī (p. 260). On p. 292 he is accused by Qasim Arsalan with Sihni and Faridun, as a plagiarist.

² A word (حذف) occurs here the meaning of which I cannot divine. I neither know nor can discover any Persian or Urdu word resembling it, and have been obliged to omit it. Whatever Badaoni wrote, we may be tolerably certain that it was nothing complimentary.

Another quatrain.

“Thou readest not the story of my grief, and it waxes old,
 Thou knowest not my disappointment, and it waxes old,
 Let not thy coming be delayed, for as for this wound of
 separation,
 I fear that thou wilt linger, and it will wax old.”

Another quatrain.

“One day I, weary with travelling along the road of the stages
 of the heart,
 Turned its dust into mire with water from blisters on the
 foot of search.
 I spend my life on this road in order that, in answer to
 my supplication,
 Soul may meet soul, and heart heart.”

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Other verses.

“Seek after enjoyment, for this virgin of life, sitting in the
 bridal chamber,
 Like a rose bursting forth from the bud casts her mother
 aside.
 Like the petals of a rose scattered by the spring breeze
 We go, with dust on our heads in the grief of our hearts.”

“I am pleased with the folk of this world, for I have learnt
 from their fellowship
 Not to give up my corner of solitude for the world.”

LXXXI. TĀLI'I OF YAZD.¹

He is a penman who writes the *nasta'liq* hand well and is of
 moderately studious habits. His business was that of a book-
 seller² in Agra.

¹ He is not mentioned in the *Jin* or in the *Tabaqat*.

² Or 'bookbinder,' or 'librarian' — سبّاق

The scars which are visible on my heart are the hosts¹ of the foe ”

LXXX. TĀLIB OF İSPAHĀN²

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He has now dwelt in Kashmīr for nearly eight years. At first he was a religious mendicant and then he elected to become an official, and entered the emperor's service. From Kashmīr he was sent as envoy to the ruler of Little Tibet, 'Ali Rāī,³ and on his return presented to Shāikh Abu'l Fazl a treatise which he had written on the wonders of that land, which Abu'l-Fazl embodied in the *Akbarnāma*. He is a very sympathetic man, and his taste, both in poetry and in prose, is correct. He wrote the following quatrain —

“Thou givest me to drink of the poison of thy absence, asking
me what has happened,
Thou sheddest my blood and shakest me from thee, asking
me what has happened,
O thou who art ignorant of what the sword of thy absence
inflicts on me,
Wring my dust, that thou mayst know what has happened
to me”

سیاهی لشکر (siyahi : laskar) 'dark bodies of troops'

¹ In the Āīn (i, 607), where he is called ‘Baba Tālib of İspahān,’ he is thus described, ‘He is a thoughtful poet and is experienced in political matters.’ According to the *Hast Iqlūm* Baba Tālib had been for nearly thirty years in Kashmīr, patronized by the rulers of that country. When Akbar annexed the province he came to Hindustan, where he was much liked. According to the *Mā'āgir-i-Rūhīn* he was often in the company of Hakim Abu'l Fath (p 233), Zain Khān Kuka, Abu'l Fazl, and Shāikh Faizi, and was in 1616, Sadr of Gujarat. Vide also Badaoni, vol ii, text, p 372.

² Vide vol ii, text, 372. In 1591 Haji Mirza Beg of Kabul was sent to 'Ali Rāī to demand his daughter in marriage for Sīāh Salīm (Jahangir), and returned with the lady, who was duly married to the prince as his eighth wife. On this occasion Malla Tālib accompanied Haji Mirza Beg. In A.D. 1602-03 'Ali Rāī invaded the frontier districts of Kashmīr, but retreated before Muhammad Quli Khan, Turkman, and Saifullah. Vide Āīn-i-Akbari, i, 474.

LXXXII. TIFLĪ.¹

He is the son of Mullā Darvīsh of Fathpūr, and his uncle,
Mullā Sāliḥ, is now the teacher appointed to the monastery at
Fathpūr. Tiflī in his thirteenth year was reading the *Sharḥ* of
Shamsiyyah.² He has a most generous nature and an admirable
taste in poetry. He is in the service of the eldest prince,³ and
obtained the poetic name of Tiflī from him. The following four
couplets are from a laudatory ode which he composed in honour
of the prince :—

“ O King,⁴ in whose just reign strife itself has become the
guardian of the world against the robbers of confusion,
The hope of thy favour is such that the very sins of sinners
protect them from the fire of hell.”

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Thou art he, to the war-horse of whose resolution in the day
of battle

Victory is the standard-bearer and success the fellow.

Last night the bird of glory brought the record of thy
success,

That bird the fame of whose pinions comes from the utter-
most parts of space beyond our ken.

The scribe of thy dignity has written passages of which we
hope for a translation and for which we earnestly desire a
translator.”

He also wrote the following verses :—

“ If the beauty of the Idol were to display itself in this
monastery

¹ Neither Tiflī nor his relations are mentioned in the *Ain*, nor in the *Tabaqat*.

² A commentary on a famous work on logic. *Vide* vol. i, trans. Ranking, 427, n. 1.

³ Scil. Sultān Salīm, afterwards the emperor Jahāngīr.

⁴ Jahāngīr had not ascended the throne when this grossly fulsome poem was written, but the word *Shāh* was applicable to a prince, as well as to a king, and the word used for reign is *daur* (daur) not *āhd* ('āhd) so that the poet did not risk the resentment of Akbar, while he flattered his own master.

The following couplets are by him —

“ Cuphearer,¹ how long can the grief of this world be borns ?
Bring wins, that I may banish grief from my heart ”

“ Every moment she afflicts my heart, that she may make it
weary of her ”

When will my heart weary of her, however much she
afflicts it ? ”

“ I wish for no companion but thee, my darling,
I desire thee, and there is none in the world that I desire
besids thee ”

“ If, when I have suffered a thousand griefs, she listens to a
word from me,
She bears but the speech of a self sektor, and straightway
forgests it ”

“ She is enraged if I speak to her but a word of my sad state,
How strange is this, that I cannot speak of my sad state to
her ! ”

A quatrain

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“ The devotee boasts of his virtus and piety,
The lover expends the cash of his life for his love ,
Each lives in hope of a glance from the eye of his Friend,
Each wonders towards whom the Friend will cast that
glance ”

Another quatrain.

“ Summon contentment, if thou art wise,
Thou mayst thus, perchance, slay the dog of base desire
See that neither water nor broth be too plentiful Drain
not the cup,
For it will rebuke thee in a hundred draughts of iced water
and acid ”

¹ The text has wrongly, ساقیا (saqiyā) in the plural. The MSS. have ساقیا (saqiyā) the vocative singular which is correct

" How should my pain be assuaged by lint and ointment,
 The bird of whose wounded heart breathes forth flame ? "

The following few couplets are from a *tarjī-band*¹ by Tiflī :—

" My tears, rejoice, for this night
 My heart's blood surges up in my eyes.
 O reunion, plead for me, for my desire for her
 Has devastated the abode of reason.
 Speak not to me of delight,
 For the lancet has become the companion of my wound,
 It is useless to say to anybody,
 ' Scatter diamond-dust in your wound but do not cry out.' "

It is marvellous that a lad of Tiflī's years should understand and speak Persian ; much more so that he should be able to compose poetry in the language. It may be hoped that he will outstrip many of these old men who have wasted their lives.

LXXXIII. ZUHŪRĪ.²

He used to live in the Dakan, and was characterized by his unrestrained manner of life, his indifference to public opinion, and his disinclination from attending at the courts of kings. Shaikh Faizī used to dilate much on the praiseworthy qualities of him and of Malik Qumī, known as Malik-ul-Kalām, and these two poets wished to accompany the Shaikh to the imperial court at Lāhor, but Burhān-ul-Mulk³ prevented them from going. It is

¹ A poem in which a refrain occurs at stated intervals.

² Zuhūrī is mentioned neither in the *Aīn* nor in the *Tubaqāt*. The Asiatic Society of Bengal has a MS. copy of his *dīvan*. He is described as Mullā Nūr-ud-dīn Zuhūrī of Tarshīz.

³ Burhān Nizām Shāh II, king of Ahmadnagar, A.D. 1590-1594. On his death the affairs of the Ahmadnagar kingdom fell into great confusion. Three kings followed one another in quick succession, mere puppets raised to the throne and deposed by opposing factions, and there was much bloodshed. In 1595, the year in which Badāoni's history was concluded, Akbar's troops were attacking Ahmadnagar and peace was made on the condition that Ahmadnagar ceded to the empire the province of Berar. *Vide Historic Landmarks of the Deccan*, by Major T. W. Haig, pp. 39, 236,

then prayer carpets would ex-
 Devotees who drag about the idolator's thread
 change their rosaries for both worlds offered by the buyer
 Nobody counts the cash or merchandise consists of wounded
 In that place where the
 hearts "

love the lancet of grief
 "I am he who has grown no wound in my breast"
 Ointment is shamed by the

aling with Islam in the day of
 "From our manner of de-
 retribution will seize us by the skirt"
 It is likely that infidelity

is night inflamed the plectrum,
 "This song of love's feast thins and her eyebrow the robeck.
 Her glances were the sing-
 players this night"

ce be wreathed with smiles!
 "O heart, let my lips for o'er the splendour of love's teats of
 For to-night will be seen
 blood."

approaches of the jealous watcher
 "I fear no reproach, for the powers of love's religion"
 Are as applause to the foll-

perils our true faith, 269
 "Ah! See how thy glance is sure way to disappointment."¹
 Trust in thy premises is a

efficacy of thy prostrations to
 "Brahman, despair not of thy
 thy idol, and is the mirror of thy fate."²
 For the mark on thy forehead,

head, which neither scans nor makes

¹ The text has پیشانی (*pīshāni*) *for *mans*), the correct reading
 sense Both MSS have پیشمنی (*pīshmāni*) worn on the forehead by Hindus. The

² The reference is to the caste mark the poet says, is a purely subjective
 compleat is *Sufi*istic in tone Religion, to rather than its object, that is im-
 matter, and it is the sincerity of watch-

Tajdīd, and also some marginal notes on the *Muṭawwal*,¹ in which he writes, "This book is copied from the book *Tuwal*,² which is equal in length to the *Muṭawwal*, or even longer." He has also written a book containing accounts of the Shaikhs of India, in which he has entered everything that he has heard from every mosque-sweeper and beggar, adding also some conjectures of his own, and he has named it *Wa fawātih-ul-wilāyah*. When they questioned him regarding this title, saying, "The particle *wa* ('and') requires something preceding it, to be coupled with the latter clause, and what should precede; it does not appear," he replied, "That which precedes it is here understood, and is manifest by transposition, that is to say, the title should be *Fawātih-ul-walāyah*, with a *fathah* over the *wāw* of *walāyah* as the *wāw* preceding the phrase indicates, not with a *kasr* under the *wāw* of *wilāyah*, as it is commonly read."³

The *Mullā* was always jealous of Qāzī Khān of Badakhshāh,⁴ on the ground of his having invented the *sijdah*⁵ ('prostration'). One day in Fathpūr he led the late Mirzā Nizām-ud-dīn Ahmad and the author off to his house at early dawn, with much solicitation, and, having given us an appetizing electuary, began to show

¹ *Vide* vol. I (trans. Ranking), p. 428, n. 3.

² The *Mullā* is here punning on the title of the *Muṭawwal*, which means 'lengthened.' *Tuwal* means 'the duration of life,' also 'the seven long chapters of the Qur'ān.'

³ I have been obliged to translate somewhat freely here, in order to make some attempt at explaining the *Mullā*'s clumsy jest. *Wa fawātih-ul-wilāyah* means 'and the beginnings of saintship.' The *Mullā* was asked to explain the apparently redundant 'and,' and replied that it indicated that the first letter of the word *wilāyah* ('saintship') was to be read with a short 'a,' like the same letter in the word *wa* ('and'), so that the title of the book would read *Fawātih-ul-walāyah* ('the beginnings of governing'), his object being to satirize the pretended saints who had made their sanctity a means of rising to high places. *Vide infra.*

⁴ *Vide* *Aīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 440, where his title is given as Ghāzī/Khān, his name being Qāzī Nizām. *Vide* p. 214.

⁵ The *sijdah* ('prostration') was introduced at Akbar's court instead of the *kurnish* and *taslim* (bowing and raising the hand to the head), and gave great offence to the orthodox, *vide* p. 214, n. 2.

'Azīz Kūka cracked some pleasant jests on his appearance, and the Mullā returned pleasant answers to them.

As his birthplace was Gulbahār, a village in the district of Kābul, he wrote for some time under the poetical name of Bahārī, but afterwards, having recognized that the name was unbecoming, as it called to mind the names borne by servant girls, he changed it, and called himself Rabi'i.¹ The motto which he composed for his seal was, "He had a well-ordered mind."²

272 The following few couplets are quoted as a memorial of him :—

"That eye in which I delighted every moment flees away,
It may be that I shall place a straw from her wall upon it."

"The glass of delight has been shattered, with whomsoever
I sat;

The bond of fellowship has snapped, with whomsoever I
bound it.

She has risen to slay me, with the sword of hatred in her
hand,

Whenever I sat in kindness with anybody for a moment."

He has composed, some couplets in the metre of 'The Chain of Gold'³ and he has called his book of nonsense "The Tinkling of the Bell," and has enumerated in it books said to be of his own composition, some of which have no existence but in his verses, and has given them imaginary names, as in the following verses :—

¹ Rabi'i ('of, or relating to the spring') is the Arabic equivalent to Bahārī. I cannot reconcile this statement with the statement above, that the Mullā's *takhallus* was 'Irif.

² The motto may also be translated "He had poetic genius." The text here has a note by the editor to the effect that the reading is the same in the three MSS. from which he edited the text. The reading seems to puzzle him, but it is perfectly simple.

³ سلسلة المذهب (*silsilat-udh-dhahab*). I have not been able to trace this poem.

ue his hooker, talking about them from dawn till midday, while we remained hungry and were not able to get a word in. At last the Mirza, no longer able to endure it, asked the Mulla whether he had anything to eat. The Mulla answered, "I thought that you had eaten before you came. I have a lamb here, if you wish I will kill it now." We rose and went home. It is impossible to recount all pranks of this nature which he played.

When he saw that Shukh Abū'l Fazl, Qazi Khan, and others of his contemporaries from being mullas rose to the rank of amirs of the highest grade, while he continued to draw a small stipend, he petitioned that he too might be admitted as a soldier. His request was granted, and one day, at the time when the guard turned out for the evening salute, he appeared in military guise before the emperor, girt in a grotesque fashion with a hilted sword, and, having approached the presence from one side of the darbar, stood, and, catching his scabbard to him, said, without any introduction,¹ "By which *mansabdar*² shall I stand, and from what place shall I make my obeisance?" The emperor was sagacious enough to penetrate his design and said, "Make your obeisance from that place in which you are now standing." When the Mulla saw that this effort to obtain recognition had failed he wandered at large. One day, in order to shew that he possessed all that became a soldier, he came to court, in the noonday heat, in dirty, greasy clothes quilted with cotton, which had been either given or lent to him by somehedy, and Mirza

¹ The text appears to me to be corrupt here. It has بی بیافت کسی which is unintelligible. MS (A) has بی بیافت کسی which is not much better. MS (B) has فی بیافت کسی which appears to me to be the correct reading, and which I have followed. For حلاف in the text and MSS which makes no sense, I have substituted علایف.

² A military commander. The object of the unceremonious behaviour of Mulla 'Alim who was, apparently, at this time no more than a private soldier was an attempt to obtain a *mansab*, or military command.

³ The word used is تسلیم (aslam). The Mulla would not, apparently, perform the *sajdah* (*sijdah*) 'prostration'.

In which I have collected a hundred and twenty different branches of learning,
Say who else can be thus described."

In spite of all this fooling he was a good friend, tactful, accomplished, able, sympathetic, unceremonious, agreeable, acceptable, and jocular. I hope that God (He is praised and exalted!) may in His grace and benevolence have made him a partaker of eternal life in heaven.

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LXXXV. MIR 'ABDUL HAYY OF MASHHAD.¹

He was for some time *Sadr*² under the emperor Humāyūn and his brother, Mir 'Abdullāh the jurist, was one of Humāyūn's intimate and specially honoured confidants. Both brothers were endued with piety, sanctity, and regularity of life.³

Mir 'Abdul Hayy was expert in writing the *Bābarī* hand, which was invented by the emperor Bābar, who sent to the honoured city of Makkah a copy of the *Qur'ān* written in that hand, of which no trace now remains.⁴ In the memoir of Mir

¹ *Vide Āīn-i-Ākbarī* i, 468, 471, 480. He was a commander of five hundred and Akbar's *Mir-i-'Adl* or chief justice. In the 35th year of Akbar's reign he and *Sadr-i-Jahān* took part in a drinking bout, and amused Akbar very much. Mr. Blochmann says that he is called in the *Tabaqāt 'Khwāja 'Abdul Hayy*; but in the Lucknow edition he is thus described, 'Mir 'Abdul Hayy the *Sadr* was a *Khurāsānī*. The emperor Humāyūn made him *Sadr-ul-Afāzil* ('chief of learned men'). He was for years in the service of the emperor Akbar.'

² 'It was the *Sadr*, or, as he was then (*scil.* before the reign of Akbar) generally styled, *Sadr-i-Jahān*, whose edict legalized the *julūs*, or accession, of a new king. During the reign of Akbar also he ranked as the fourth officer of the empire. The power of the *Sadr* was immense. They were the highest law officers and had the powers which Administrators-General have among us; they were in charge of all lands devoted to ecclesiastical and benevolent purposes, and possessed an almost unlimited authority of conferring such lands independently of the King. They were also the highest ecclesiastical law-officers, and might exorcise the powers of High Inquisitors. *Vide Āīn-i-Ākbarī*, i, 270.

³ Or, perhaps, 'administrative ability.' The word is ظامت (nizāmat).

⁴ Shaikh Abū-l-Fazl, in the *Āīn-i-Ākbarī*, discourse at large on the art of

"Thou mayst have seen, from a copy of the *Tajdid*,¹
 That a new favour has newly arrived
 In which are concealed a hundred stages of the pilgrimage,²
 And from the contents of which great enterprises³ are mani-
 fest
 The text of the *Tajid*⁴ is halting beside it,
 Its rose garden has lost its colour from want of water
 Its splendour, without dissimulation and without exaggera-
 tion,
 Is perfect wisdom, the wisdom of the sunrise⁵
 And of that book, the attributes of which are beyond
 telling
*Dallat ul-'aql*⁶ is the name and description
 And that pearl which has come from the ocean of generosity,
 Is the *Luzzat-ul-jud fi'l iwayid*?
 I am the compiler of that '*Ardlim ul a'hbar*',⁷
 From the instructions of the knower of chronicles,

¹ The *Tajid* (تَاجِد—'renewal') was Mulla 'Alim's commentary on the commentary on the *Tajul*. In this couplet the poet plays on the Arabic root meaning 'new,' using three different measures of the trilateral root.

² موانف (*mawqif*) 'halting places or stages in the performance of the ceremonies of the pilgrimage at Mecca.' It is probable that Mulla 'Alim styled the chapters or sections of his book *mawqif* or that he is referring to a book of this name. MS (1) has the reading صرايق (*shraiq*) which does not make good sense.

³ معاشر (*mawasid*) a reference to the poet's *كتاب قعده* (*kutub qadah*) or 'book of endeavour' and to the *Maqasid* the book on which it is a commentary.

⁴ I add note 1 *supra*

⁵ حکمت عین و حکمت اشراق It is possible that the words عین ('ain) and اشراق (*ishraq*) refer to the titles of books.

⁶ 'I dictation of wisdom,' apparently one of the poet's imaginary works.

⁷ 'The ocean of generosity, or exuberance,' apparently another of the poet's imaginary works.

⁸ مهولم الاتوار 'worlds of relics' Probably another of Mulla 'Alim's imaginary works.

Whose praises are sung by all those who have attained perfection ;
 India has been conquered merely by thy footstep within her bounds,
 Thy title is, MUHAMMAD HINDĀL ! ”

Mir ‘Abdul Hayy, who also had a childish nature, wrote, in reply, the following quatrain :—

“ O thou, at whose door a thousand monarchs like Cæsar hold their crowns,
 Whose praises exercise their tongues evening and morning !
 May all the confines of the world, O Lord,
 Be under the sway of the king of the world, MUHAMMAD AKBAR ! ”

LXXXVI. ‘ITĀBĪ.¹

He is Sayyid Muhammad of Najaf who made a name in the Dakan² and came to Ilāhābād and paid his respects to the emperor. He was very unconventional in all outward observances and was bold and slovenly. It was reported to the emperor that he had written a satire in the Dakan on Shāh Fathullāh,³ and when he was questioned on this point he denied that he had done so, saying, ‘In that country I would have taken no notice of a

nor are they mentioned as such in the *Majma‘-us-Sanā‘i‘*, nor in the *Haft Qulzum*, for any four hemistichs might be written in this form.’ The editor of the text apparently resents the application by Badāoni of the term *murabba‘* (‘in the form of a square’) to these quatrains, but Badāoni evidently did not intend to say that these quatrains belonged to the class of compositions technically known as *murabba‘*, but merely that they were written in the form of a square. The MSS. omit the first syllable of each hemistich.

¹ Thus described in the *Aīn* (i, 588), ‘He possesses harmony of thought, but his mind is unsettled, and he lives a disorderly life,’ and thus in the *Tabaqāt*, ‘He came from foreign parts to India and owing to his ill-regulated disposition he was imprisoned for two years in Gwāliyār, and was at last pardoned by the natural clemency of the emperor.’

² Probably in Bijāpūr.

³ Vide p. 216.

'Alā-and daulah' it is mentioned that Mir 'Abdul Hayy devoted some attention to the study of accomplishments and that nobody had learnt to write in the difficult *Babari* style more quickly or better than he, but Mirza 'Aziz Kaka wrote in the margin of the memoir that Mir 'Abdul Hayy had no knowledge of any branch of learning, and that his one accomplishment was some knowledge of the *Babari* script, with which he was very imperfectly acquainted, that he was wonderfully simple and would apropos of nothing and without consideration relate in social gatherings strange tales which no child would believe. As Mir 'Abdul Hayy was better known to Mirza 'Aziz Kaka than to Mir 'Alā-and daulah, it is beyond doubt that what the Mirzā wrote is nearer to the truth than that which is written in the memoir, for Mir 'Alā-and daulah, has recorded much incongruous nonsense² in the memoir.

Mir 'Abdul Hayy has some aptitude for poetry, and wrote an answer to that fantastical quatrain which was written in the form of a square by one of the accomplished men about the court in honour of Muhammad Hūdāl Mirzā, and is so well known that it is the first thing that children are set to learn. The quatrain is as follows —

"O then, before whose courts a hundred Rustams³ have cast 274
down their crowns,

penmanship and mentions ten different scripts among which the *Babari* finds no place. This bears out Badaoni's statement that it was lost. Vide *Ain*, i, 96.

¹ Vide page 239, also *Ain-i-Albari* : 417 and n. 2 where the name of his *Tazkirah* or memoir is given as شتر گورہ (shetr gurah) (nasa-i ul-ma dhabir) 'precious memorials.'

² شتر گورہ (*shetr gurah*) lit. 'camel cat'. Anything incongruous or absurd.

³ In the text the four verses of which each of these quatrains is composed are written following the conceit of their authors, on the four sides of a square with the exception of the titles concluding the final hemistich of each, which are continued in the line of one of the diagonals of the square. There is no particular art in this conceit for any quatrain could be so written. The text contains the following note by the editor, 'In truth this form of composition is no more than a child's plaything and men of letters do not class such things among *muraabba* (verses written in a doubled metre),'

That the rose has bloomed and we know not where the garden is."

"In thy country the name of faithfulness causes weeping, Both the messenger, and the letter which he bears cause, each separately, weeping.

"The drum of thy munificence sounds loudly, but I can find no way to the sun (of the assembly).

This special custom and public assembly of thine will kill me."¹

"I have left thy street, besmirched with accusations ; I brought to it chastity, and I leave it defiled with sin. May the black night of thy locks be pleased with the multitude of hearts (offered to it)

While I stray, miserable, from thy street.

The fountain of Khizr² prides itself on receiving the dust of my feet

While I go, thirstier than ever, from the dimple in thy chin.

Sugar was poured out at each door at which I knocked, thou wouldest think

That I had been to beg from that laughing lip.

I knocked at the door of the seventy-two sects of Islām, and from the door of despair

I turned, hopeless of help from either fire-worshipper or Musalmān."

"In my impatience, 'Itābī, I resolved to part from her, and now

Each time the thought of her enters my heart I weep unrestrainedly."

¹ That is to say the loved one's custom of holding public levées, having previously given notice of them.

² The fountain of the water of life.

man of that sort' This remark increased the suspicion that he had written the satire and he was imprisoned, and it was ordered that all his papers should be examined in Fathpur in order that it might be discovered, whether he had written satires on anybody while he was in Hindustan. Some incriminating papers were discovered, and he remained in prison in Gwalior for ten¹ years until at length he was pardoned at the intercession of the eldest prince and other courtiers, and was summoned to Lahore, but he still retained his evil disposition.

One day he came to the house of Qazi Hasan of Qazvin,² who has the title of Khan, and the doorkeeper opposed his entering. Itabi grappled with him, entered the assembly, which was a party of friends who had sat down to food, and said to Qazi Hasan, 'It was this food, that led you to cause your door to be shut in the face of a learned man, a foreigner, and you have a perfect right (to keep your food to yourself)' In spite of all that the master of the house and his guests could do in the way of excusing themselves, saying that the doorkeeper had not recognized him, Itabi would not be appeased, and refused to sit down and eat. He had great skill in writing Persian and Arabic poetry, also in penmanship and in prose composition. He has composed a *divan*. The following couplets are by him —

"We have scorched our wise hearts in the furnace of desire,

"We have burnt the lamp of the *Ka bah* at the door of the idol-temple"

'We have given thee permission to shed this innocent blood, 276

We have given it to thee verbally, in writing and under a formal attestation'

"We swear by thy honour that we are the nightingales of this meadow,

¹ Two years according to the *Tabaqat*, vide n. 9

² He served in Gujarat in A.D. 1587, and later in the siege of Asirgarh. Vide *Ain-i-Akbari* 498

A quatrain.

"In the love of thy face I have lost both learning and sense 277
 But what of these? I have lost my very soul
 In following thee, whatever I had at the end of my life
 Have I lost, and yet I have lost all evil"

"It would not be wonderful if from the atmosphere of thy
 face,
 And from the heated noon of my heart, a film should form
 on the mirror"

After his release from confinement he was given a sum of a thousand rupees for travelling expenses and was placed under the charge of Qilij Khān,¹ who was ordered to send him off from the port of Surat on a pilgrimage to the Hijaz but on the way to Surat he escaped and fled into the Dakan, where he took refuge with the rulers of the country, and there he still wanders about in the condition in which he formerly was

LXXXVII 'UBAIDI²

He is a youth recently come to man's estate He wrote the following couplet —

"The reward for pain which is not worthy of my asking
 after it

Is a glance to ask for which I am unworthy."

This couplet for some time roused a great stir (among lovers of poetry) on every side in Lāhor, and on this account Ḥakim Abū-'l-Fath Gilānī³ was loud in 'Ubaidi's praises, and presented him to the emperor. When he was asked to write more poetry he did not continue a poem on the lines of this couplet, but wrote some

¹ A commander of four thousand and governor of the fort of Surat. He was made governor of the fort when Akbar, after a siege of forty seven days, took it. His daughter married Akbar's youngest son, Sultan Daniyal.

² 'Ubaidi is not mentioned as a poet in the *Ām*, nor in the *Tabaqat*.

³ *Vide p. 233*

men of Badāon, who wrote poetry under the name of Zāhid, recited, from the *maṣnavī* which he had written on the phrase 'In the name of God,' the following couplet:—

" When the crenellations of the letter *sīn*¹ began to laugh
The letter laughed so as to show its gums,"

The Mīr said, " What are 'the crenellations of the letter *sīn*? ' The doors and the walls are laughing at your verse."

Sometimes from the sprightliness of his nature he would occupy himself by writing poetry.

The following couplet is his:—

" O heart, all night the street dog gets no sleep
From thy cries and lamentation and wailing."

XC. MIR 'AZIZU-'LLĀH.²

He came of the Saifi Sayyids of Qazvīn³ and in book-keeping and penmanship he came first among accountants and scribes, and he also had some proficiency in those branches of learning which are not treated of in Arabic literature. He was for some time a *dīvān-i-sa'ādat*,⁴ and when *Karoris*⁵ were appointed throughout

¹ The poet evidently means, by this expression, the points of the letter *sīn* (س) at the head of the small loops, commonly called the 'teeth' of the letter. Hence the expression 'laughed so as to show its gums' (بَنْ دَانِدَان) or, literally, 'the roots of its teeth.' *Sīn* is the second letter of the Arabic phrase. 'In the name of God,' as usually written. The verse is sufficiently absurd, but the critic's own verse is not much better.

² Mīr 'Azīzu-'llāh is not mentioned in the *Aīn*.

³ The Saifi Sayyids of Qazvīn were Sunnis, and suffered some persecution in Persia on account of their religious belief.

⁴ The *dīvān-i-sa'ādat* was clerk to the *Sadr*, *vide* p. 378, n. 2.

⁵ *Karoris* were revenue officers placed each over a tract of country which paid annually a *karōr* of dāms (1,00,00,000 dāms = Rs. 2,50,000) to the imperial treasury. *Vide Aīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 13. They were first appointed in A.D. 1574-75 and each *karōrī* was obliged to give security for his good behaviour. Notwithstanding this they were grossly extortionate and depopulated large tracts by their exactions. Many of them were called to account and perished under scourging and torture or lived miserably in

"The reflection of thy eye, heavy with the drowsiness of wine,¹ has fallen on the wine,
Like a drunkard who, in his drunkenness, falls into the water"

"The bud, in desire of thy lip, smiled not at the breath of the morning,
But in order to see thy face opened the eye of its heart" 279

"As I write my letter to thee the paper is wet with my tears.

I weep in jealousy of the pen which writes thy name on the paper."³

He was, at all events, a wild and dignified man, of old-fashioned manners. He has now wholly accepted the *Sufi* doctrine of annihilation, and is become an old man neuring actual annihilation.

LXXXIX. 'Ilm⁴

He was entitled Mir Murtazā and was descended of the Sayyids of Dughlibād.⁵ He was one of the most trusted officers of the Khānzamān, and for some time held possession of Badāon. He was endowed with learning and accomplishments and was immoderately fond of jesting. When Ilijāz⁶ Khān, one of the chief

¹ A drowsy or languid appearance of the eye is held by orientals to be attractive.

² Badāon seems to have had a very poor opinion of 'Ilijāz's poetry, but the examples here quoted are at least up to the standard of most of the verses quoted by him.

³ 'Ilmī is not mentioned as a poet in the *Jin*, or in the *Taqribat*.

⁴ در علیباد in the text, with a variant, سعید (Du'sīd), in a foot-note. MS. (B) has در غلیباد (Dughlibād). I have not been able to identify this place, the name of which has evidently puzzled the scribes.

⁵ Thus in both MSS. The text has همچاوز (Ilijāz) or جلچاوز (Jālijāz), names which I cannot identify. The reading of the MSS. appears to me to be better than that of the text.

" I am thus fallen in the road of grief and toil like rubbish,
 Perchance some breeze of thy favour and grace will raise
 me from the dust."

" O Lord, I am distracted by the multitude of my sins,
 Show me some mercy, for I am heavily weighed down by
 my sins.

I have grief in plenty, boundless sorrow, but no comforter.
 How shall I make friends for myself? I am heavily
 afflicted."

It is evident that he composed these last few verses while
 he was in prison.

XCI. MĪRZĀ 'AZIZ KŪKĀ.¹

He is entitled A'zam Khān, and is well known for his good
 281 breeding, and for his varied accomplishments and gifts, and there
 is no other *amīr* who is regarded as his equal in depth of under-
 standing or in capacity. As he used formerly, now and again,
 but rarely, to make trial of his ability in the composition of verse,
 the following few verses of his are quoted, in order that these
 memoirs may not be destitute of all mention of him.

" Since honour and reputation prevented me from obtaining
 the desire of my heart,
 I will henceforward shatter my reputation with a stone."

He also wrote an illuminated copy of an ode composed by
 himself, the opening couplet of which was this :—

" O thou, whose curled lock is the fetter of my heart,
 The love of whom is mingled with all the elements of my
 body!"

¹ Son of Ataga Khān and Jī Jī Anaga, and foster-brother of Akbar. He received the title of A'zam Khān in A.D. 1580, after his father's death, and was at the same time made a commander of five thousand. His daughter married Murād, Akbar's fourth son. Mīrzā 'Azīz died in A.D. 1623-24 at Alīmadābad. He was remarkable for his ease of address, intelligence, and knowledge of history. *Vide Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 325.

the empire of Hindūstān he, having with much trouble collected five *lakors* (of dāws¹) from the Sambhal district, was appointed to the administrative and revenue charge of that district,² and at last he was for several years under suspension, engaged in rendering accounts to the *dādar* and his honour was changed to disgrace, and he was subjected to torture, and suffered much, and he surrendered all that he had, even to the uttermost farthing,³ to the imperial treasury, and, after surrendering all his possessions, surrendered his life with them. He composed a *dhāra* of short odes, a poem in praise of the people of his town⁴ a poem on roses and wine, and many other trifles in verse, but his poetry is all in the style of the poets of the time of Sultān Husain Mirzā,⁵ and most of the works which I have named are in that style. The following verses are his —

"The fresh dew has sprung from her ruby lip with moisture
and splendour,
For she ever drinks water from the fountain of the sun."

jail till death or died their sufferings. Badoni says that they lived for one year in luxury as *lakors* and paid for it with their lives or by dragging on a miserable existence ever afterwards. *Vide* Badoni vol ii text, p 189

¹ Rs 1,250,000. The meaning of the passage is that Mir 'Aziz 'Ilah extorted this sum from the people of the Sambhal district in order to pay for the appointment of revenue administrator of the district. As this large sum was over and above the revenue which the people had to pay to government and as 'Aziz 'Ilah's habits of extortion probably grew upon him, it is not surprising that he was called to account.

² The text has *ājāz* (*subah*) 'province,' but it is improbable that Mir 'Aziz 'Ilah was placed in charge of the whole of the province of Dihli in which Sambhal was situated. It is more probable that he had charge of the *sarkar* or revenue district of Sambhal which was a sufficiently important charge, paying an annual revenue Rs 16,73,536, not reckoning *ayyārājāh*.

³ Literally 'all that he had and had not,' an expressive phrase which may perhaps be taken to mean that he had to surrender all his property and promise to deliver whatever property he might acquire in the future.

⁴ شہر آشوب (shahr aghab) 'town disturbing' A poem written in praise or disparagement of the people of a town

⁵ King of Khurasan, A.D. 1470—1505. He was descended from 'Umar Shāhīk Mirzā, second son of Timur.

XCII. 'AHDI OF SHIRAZ.¹

He has written different kinds of poetry, both long and short odes. He was for some time in Gujārāt with Mirzā Nizām-ud-din Ahmad. When he came to Dihlī, after the deposition of Qāzī Muḥammad, who was a fanatical Shi‘ah and an evil liver, the late Ḥakim ‘Ain-ul-Mulk² in Lāhor besought the Ṣadrs³ to appoint Mullā ‘Ahdi to the Qāzī-ship, and by way of an anticipatory omen found the words *Qāzī ‘Ahdi*⁴ to give the date of his imaginary *qāzī-ship*, but it was all of no avail and resembled the story of an imaginary man riding an imaginary horse in an imaginary plain and playing polo with an imaginary stick and an imaginary ball. ‘Ahdi then went with the Ḥakim to the Dakan, and nothing is known of him after the Ḥakim’s death, neither what happened to him nor whither he went.

The following verses are by him :—

A quatrain.

“ Though the lip of my complaint was wet with blood,
The smoke from my heart arose from the chimney of my
eyes,
My tears rained down sparks and fire,
My sighs kindled and became like a burning coal.”

At the time when Ḥakim ‘Ain-ul-Mulk departed from Lāhor and also (after a short time) from this world of wickedness and strife, the following quatrain, attributed to Ḥakīm Ṣanā’ī, was discussed :—

“ Breathe once more, for thy Beloved is near thee,
And the bird of thy desire is near to the cage.
How long wilt thou say, ‘I am far from my Beloved?’
Look within thyself, for the Friend is very near thee.”⁵

¹ ‘Ahdi is mentioned neither in the *Āīn* nor in the *Tabaqāt*.

² *Vide* p. 229. ³ *Vide* p. 122, note 2.

⁴ قاضی عهدی The sum of the letters gives the date A.H. 1000 (A.D. 1591-92).

⁵ This is a Sufi-istic quatrain. Cf. St. Augustine, “*Ego multum erravi quaerens Te extra me, et Tu habitas in me.*”

The following couplets are also by him —

"The affairs of the world have no stability,

It is better that my heart should be withdrawn from the affairs of the world "

"My heart is sick with the pain and grief of loneliness,
O physician of the sick heart, what dost thou prescribe ?"

"My grief worn heart has become dust in the road of fidelity,
See, my faithless love, the way of those who bumble themselves to the dust" ¹

He laid out a splendid garden in Agra, and in it built a garden-house adorned with paintings, and composed this quatrain for an inscription on the building —

"O Lord, by the purity of heart of men of discernment,
Which is dearer to Thee than all other things
Since this house has, by Thy grace, been completed,
Of thy favour send me honoured guests !"

There are in the world many records of his doings, one of which relates the story of his high spirited departure on pilgrimage to Makkah, and of his return in a different frame of mind, — one of the inevitable consequences of these evil days ² 282

¹ The text has خاکساری (Khalsari) 'humility' MS (A) has خاکساران (Khalsaran) which is better

² In A.D 1601 (A.D 1593) Mirza 'Aziz, who had been absent from court for six years was summoned from Gujarat by Akbar. The Mirza, then a good Muslim, had been much alarmed by the religious freaks with which Akbar had inaugurated the millennium in the previous year and on receiving the summons fled to Deo on April 3, 1593 and departed the next day on pilgrimage to Makkah. Here he remained for some time and was plundered in the name of religion till this zeal for Islam cooled. He returned to India in A.D 1594 & was favourably received by Akbar, and became a member of Akbar's new religion, 'the divine faith'. The orthodox Badaoni here dismisses the subject very curtly. Vide vol II, text, pp 387, 398, and *Ain-i-Akbari*, I, 327.

Another quatrain.

"We have learnt the way to a cure for ourselves,
 We have heaped up the harvest of our transgressions,
 We have kindled the fire of hell for ourselves,
 We have consumed ourselves with the fire of our own sins."

Another quatrain.

"So long as the locks of the beautiful curl,
 So long as the gestures and gait of the lovely are alluring,
 So long as the arrow of the glance is in the brow of cruelty,
 I die and live again each moment."

A couplet.

"There is no rose in the rose-garden of this world which is
 not tinged with the blood of some nightingale."

In describing a horse he has written :

"From his great pace as he gallops, his limbs
 Close on one another like drops of water flowing together."

222 XCIV. 'URFI OF SHIRAZ.¹

He was a high-minded young man of sound understanding and he composed poetry of all kinds well, but he became so puffed up

¹ He is thus described in the *Āīn* (i, 569), 'The forehead of his diction shines with decorum, and possesses a peculiar grace. Self-admiration led him to vanity, and made him speak lightly of the older classics. The bud of his merits withered away before it could develop itself.' In the *Tabaqāt* he is mentioned as follows: 'He was a young man of genius and of excellent understanding, and composed all sorts of poetry well, but he developed so much pride and conceit that he lost the regard of all. He has composed a *divān* and some *mashrū'is*.' He was the encomiast of Ḥakīm Abūl-Fath. That his poetry was highly regarded is evident from the following couplet by the great Persian poet Shā'ib, written on Nazīrī:—

صائب چه خیالست شوی همچو نظیری عرفی بنظیری نوسانیده سخن را
 'Sā'ib, what dost thou think? Can't thou become like Nazīrī?

Even 'Urfī has not written poetry like Nazīrī's."

'Urfī's name was Khwāja Sayyidī Muḥammad Jamāl-ud-dīn, and his *takhallus* has reference to the occupation of his father, who, as *dārogha* to

Mahvi composed the following quatrain —

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"Mahvi, whose heart is near to all men,
Is near to the bud of thy garden and to its thorns and
rubbish
For this reason he was not repulsed from the litter of the
beloved,
That the sound of his weeping resembles the sound of its
bell."

— Hokim 'Ain ul Mulk composed the following in answer to both
quatrains —

"Since thy Beloved is near thee every moment,
Beware, for thy fire is near the dry grass !
O thou who hast fallen behind thy companions and lost the
way
Hastou, for the sound of the caravan's boll is near"

Mulla 'Ahdi composed the following quatrain and also wrote it,
as a keepsake in my common place book, and our comparnership
in prayer was changed for sopiration .

"The freedom of this caged bird is near at hand,
And this flame is near to the thorns and stubble,
Grief would fly from me with a thousand wings and pinions,
Did it but know with whom it consented "

I wonder at my own hardness of heart seeing that I am able to
sit and beat my breast with a stone in the absence of so many
friends

XCIII 'INAYATU-'LLAH THE SCRIBE¹

He is a Shirszi, and is now employed in the imperial library as 284
a librarian He has a merry and nimble wit and occasionally
writes poetry The following verses are his —

"I am fallen, like a helpless bird, into the cage
My broken heart is like a soundless bell
Though I am more contemptible than an ant or a fly
I am suffocated by the straitness of the two worlds "

¹ 'Inayatu 'llah is not mentioned in the *Ain*, nor in the *Tabaqat*

his works copied¹ and illuminated, and nobody asks for them, the only copy for which he has had any sale being the solitary one which he himself sent abroad.

'The power of pleasing and grace of diction are gifts of God.'

'Urfi has a *dīvān* of his collected poems, and a *masnавi* in the metre of the *Makhzan-i-Asrār*² which is known throughout the world. The following few verses are quoted as a memorial of 'Urfi :—

A quatrain.

"On the morrow, when the workers of every craft shall be summoned,
When the good acts of Shaikh and Brahman shall be investigated,
There shall be taken from thee not a grain that thou hast reaped,
But for everything that thou hast not sown a harvest shall be required."

The following couplets are by him :—

"He who thirsts for the blandishments of thy lip knows
That the frown on thy forehead is a wave of the water of life."

"Nobody has been born who can bear the pain of love;
Every afflicted one has betrayed himself by changing colour as he told his story."

"As I sing of love I weep bitterly,
I am but an ignorant child and this is my first lesson."

¹ The text has كتاب (*kitāb*). The MSS., which I have followed, have كتابت (*kitābat*), which is a better reading.

² مخزن اسرار, 'treasury of secrets.' The famous *makhzan-i-Asrār* here mentioned was by the well-known Persian poet Shaikh Abū Muḥammad Ilyās Nizāmī of Ganja. 'Urfi's *masnавi* bore the same name.

with pride and conceit that he lost the regard of all, and he never reached old age. When he first came from his country to Fathpur he attached himself to Shaikh Faizi above all others and in truth, the Shaikh treated him well, and in this last journey he lived in the Shaikh's tents until the camp reached Atak, and was supplied with all the necessities of life by the Shaikh, but at length, in accordance with the long-standing habit of the Shaikh, who is friendly with everybody for a week, a coolness sprung up between them, and 'Urfi attached himself to Hakim Abu'l Fath, and afterwards, by means of a recommendation which he received from the Hakim, to the Khankhanan with whom both his poetry and the esteem in which he was held made great progress duly. One day he went to Shaikh Faizi's house and found him feeding a puppy. 'Urfi asked, "What is the name of this child of my lord's?" The Shaikh replied, "His name is well-known ('Urfi)", and 'Urfi replied at once, "May it be auspicious"! The Shaikh was very angry, but to no purpose.

Both 'Urfi and Musam Sana'i² have wonderful good fortune with their poetry, for there is no street or market in which the booksellers do not stand at the roadside selling copies of the *divans* of these two poets, and both Persians and Indians buy them as auspicious possessions, while it is quite otherwise with Shaikh Faizi, who has spent large sums from his *jagers* in having

the magistrate of Shiraz, was concerned both with the canon (شروعی) and the common (عربی) law. He died at Lahore in August, 1591, of dysentery, or, according to another account, of poison, at the age of thirty-six. His early death was ascribed to the abuse which he had heaped on the ancients. His odes have been several times lithographed.

1 'Urfi's question is not quite so pointed in the original Persian, and might be rendered, 'What is the name of this highly born one?' But the intention is perfectly clear. Faizi replies by giving 'Urfi's *nom de plume* to the unclean animal. 'Urfi's retort is one of the commonest expressions of politeness, but its mordant wit cannot be reproduced in a translation. In the original it is مبارک و آشد (mubarak *bashad*), i.e. 'may it be auspicious' or 'may it be Mubarak'. *Mubarik* was the name of Faizi's father. Faizi should have known better than to measure his wit with that of a Shirazi.

² Vide no XXXI

XCV. GHAZNAVI.¹

He is Mir Muḥammad Khān-i-Kalān, who is well-known by reason of his high rank and position. His assemblies were always attended by learned men and poets. In spite of his constant employment in administrative business he found time occasionally to indulge in the customary recreation of writing verses, and collected a large *dīvān* of his poems. He used to say to the Emperor, 'The boast of your reign is this, that a man like me has lived in it.'

The following verses are his :—

"In my youth the flower of my age was passed in ignorance,
And what was left of it has been passed in repentance.
Young man, thou hast sown nothing but the seed of despair
in the world,
Now the season of old age is come, and the time for tillage
is past."

"Go Ghaznavi, associate with the dogs of the beloved,
Be content with a dry crust and make thyself independent
of the world,
Take the crown of pride from thy head and pass beyond
the stage of 'we' and 'I,'²

"Step not beyond the bounds of ignorance, or else become a
Plato,
A middle course is a *marras* with raging thirst"¹

The opening couplet of the odo from which the last couplet is taken is as follows --

"My conversation in society consists of mittered speeches,
For here those reputed sensible are ignorant, and my speech
is Arabic."

The following couplets are also by him --

"How shall I endure my desire for my beloved, for, by the
laws of love
A mere glance is disrespect and a thought of the beloved is
derogatory to her."

"Of what pain has it been decreed by Time that I should
die,
That the eyes of my soul have not gone forth to welcome?"

"I speak no word, for silence is better than speech, 287
I have no knowledge, for oblivion is better than knowledge"

"The Ka'bah would have circled round thy head and encircled² it
Had it had but pinions and wings"

¹ Cf. Pope --

A little learning is a dangerous thing,
Drink deep, or taste not the Pierian spring,
Here, shallow draughts intoxicate the brain,
But drinking deeply sobers it again"

² A clumsy word but necessitated by the suggestion that the temple at Makkah should be endued with wings. The idea is that the ceremonial circumambulation performed by the pilgrims round the Ka'bah would be performed by the Ka'bah round the head of the beloved. Vade p. 19, n. 4.

Khān and the next morning news came that he had been seized with colic in the place of public prayer in Sambhal on the 'Id-i-Qurbān,¹ and had sickened suddenly, and in the flower of his youth had surrendered his soul to God. His bier was brought into Badāon. Some mention has been made of this event in the record of the reign,² and besides (the chronograms there given)³ the words 'Ah, Jamāl Khan has died!' were found to give the date of his death.

In these days⁴ whom have the heavens seated in safety
Whose existence they did not cut short like the morning's light?

XCVI. GHURĀRĪ.⁵

He is Qāsim 'Ali, son of Ḥaidar the grocer, and was notorious for his pride and groundless vanity. He used to call himself a Quraishi⁶ until it became generally accepted that anybody who had no descent whatever to boast of claimed connection with the Quraish. Whenever he was ashamed of the arrival of his father in any social gathering and lost his temper his father used to say,

¹ The festival of sacrifice, otherwise called عید الصھن (*id-ud-ḍuḥā*) celebrated on the tenth day of Zi'-l Ḥijjah in commemoration of Abraham's preparations for the sacrifice of Ishmael (not Isaac, according to the Muhammadans).

² *Vide* vol. ii, text, p. 135.

³ The other chrouograms are—

مَدْعَةٌ مِّنْ جَمَالِ خَانِ وَزَيْبِ جَمَالِ خَانِ

'a hundred sighs for the beauty and grace of Jamal Khan'
and

مَدْعَةٌ مِّنْ جَانِ بِرُوزِ عِيدٍ ۝ قِرْبَانٍ

'He gave up his life on the day of the festival of sacrifice'

The one here given is مَدْعَةٌ مِّنْ جَانِ بِرُوزِ

There is something wrong with these chronograms. The first gives the date 928, the second the date 967, and the third the date 977. The correct date is A.D. 978 (A.D. 1578).

⁴ The text has آفتاب ('the sun'). I follow the reading of MS. (A) which has از مانه, a much better reading.

Ghurbārī is mentioned neither in the *Aīn* nor in the *Tabaqāt*.

The Quraishi is the Arabian tribe to which Muḥammad belonged,

Overthrow (in thy mind) the foundations of the kingdom of
this world, like Ihrâhim, the son of Adham¹
Withdraw thy notice from thyself and thy friends that
thou may he at rest,
And if even the light of thy eyes should meet thee in the
way, turn aside

When he was governor of Samhal he gave great vogue to the
following ode of Shaikh Sa'di² (may his tomb be hallowed) — 288
“The heart which loves and is patient must surely be a
stone,
For love and patience are a thousand leagues apart”

He himself wrote as follows —

“ When the cuphearer's cheek is rosy with wine,
Drink wine to the sound of the flute, for the heart is sad ”

Mir Amâni and other poets composed answers to these verses, in imitation of them, each according to his capacity and frame of mind, and one of them, the late Jamal Khân of Badaon, who was a constant and intimate companion of the Khân, and was unrivalled in wit, composed an ode of which the following was the opening couplet,

“ Thy cheek is ever rosy with the wine of delight,
My heart, like a closed bud, is constituted with grief in
meditating on thy mouth ”

When I was in Kant-n-Gola³ in the service of Husain Khân⁴ this ode reached me one night in a letter from Miyan Jamâl

¹ I do not understand this reference. It cannot have anything do with Adham Khân, the murderer of Mir Muhammad's brother.

² Mûsharîf ud din Sa'di bin Mûshâud din, of Shiraz, one of the most famous of Persian poets.

³ Two adjacent parganas in the Sâlihi of Badaon, usually mentioned together. Vide *Ain-i Akbari*, II, 289.

⁴ Husain Khan Tukriya (the patcher) ‘the Bayard and Don Quixote of Akbar's reign’ He acquired his nickname from his having, while governor of the Punjab, compelled Hindus to distinguish themselves by wearing a patch near the shoulders. He was a commander of three thousand. He died, of wounds, in A.D. 1575.

During my twenty-one years' acquaintance with Ghubārī he has been constantly engaged in taking lessons in (what may be called) 290 the middle standard,¹ and he used to compel his teachers to make obeisance to him, and if they did not consent to do so he would not come for his lesson, and in the lessons received under these unfortunate conditions he never progressed beyond the elements of accidence.² His taste in poetry may be estimated from the following verses :—

“I love water, and the bath is my place,
The bath-house is the house which is appropriated to me.”

In imitation of the opening couplet which runs,

“I wish for one hair from the curled lock of my love.
That is to say, I am an idolator, and I wish for a sacred thread.”

He wrote the following :—

“I wish to explain my grief to the dog of my love.
That is to say, I am grieved, and I wish to explain my grief.”

The following verses are also by him :—

“From her eyes nothing but calamity reaches me.
Nobody has ever such calamity.”

A quatrain.

“Everybody who is afflicted by love
Becomes acquainted with toil and grief ;
Everybody who has found his way into love's circle
Revolves around calamity like a pair of compasses.”

Ghubārī departed from this world, very unwillingly, in A.H. 1000 (A.D. 1591-92), and the chronogram found for his death consisted of the words, “Qāsim ‘Alī Khān the fool.”³ Accord-

¹ سبق متوسط (Sabaq-i-mutawassit) lessons learnt by boys not just learning to read and write, but in the middle classes in schools.

² وضَعْ لَمَعِي مُفَرَّد “It is singular in meaning.”

قاسم علی خان ابله The letters give the date 1000.

'To spite you I will sit in the shop which I have in Agra, selling fruit and electuaries, and to everybody who comes to the shop whether he questions me or not, I will say, 'Let it be known that Qāsim 'Ali is my son, begotten by me. You may kill him if you like.'

Somebody asked Haider how many sons he had, he replied, "Eight, the particulars are as follows —

"Two are mine, and two are my wife's, and two belong to us both,

Two others there are which belong neither to my wife nor to me" 1

Qāsim 'Ali was in his youth very handsome, and used to sing at social gatherings, and was then for some time servant² to the *Khalifah* of the age (Akbar), became a man of some importance, and acquired the title of *Khan*,³ and this case was an illustration of the remark made by a man when another said to him, "Have you heard that they have made so and so a Khan?" and he replied, "Well, the mannikin deserved it"

His manner of forming his letters and his handwriting were like those of the master of the world⁴. His unformed hand and his ill formed letters are like those of boys, but in spite of that hand and those letters he has a childish confidence in himself⁵.

1 i.e. Haider had two sons by another wife and his wife had two sons by another husband and they had two dutiful sons of their marriage, and two more who were ashamed of their parents, and of whom their parents were ashamed.

2 Literally, 'Khalifah to the Khalifah of the age' In India the word *Khalifah* is applied to cooks and other menial servants Badaoni's innuendo is susceptible of a very ill meaning

3 I do not think that Ghulshā can be the Qāsim 'Ali Khan mentioned on p 465 of the Āīn (vol 1) but he may have been

4 See Akbar As Badaoni is making a slighting remark on the Emperor's accomplishments he applies to him an unusual and ambiguous title, آنکھی جہاں

5 The words 'hand,' 'letters,' and 'confidence' are, in the original, diminutives which cannot be otherwise 'translated than by employing some such qualifying adjectives as I have used

experienced holy rapture, and, springing up from my place as one beside himself, uttered the following couplet :—

“ Whether Thou shonest me favour or whether Thou shonest it not

I am one of that brotherhood who wear the ring of Thy service in their ears.”

His holiness the Shaikh seized me by the hand and whirled me round with him, and the delight of that moment never leaves my heart.¹

He died in Agra, in the neighbourhood of Shaikh Farid's College, in A.H. 966 (A.D. 1558-59).

The following opening couplet of one of his odes is well known:

“ The mouth of my Friend last night told me a secret mystery,

‘ I am the fountain of the water of life, and thou knowest it not.’ ”

292 The following verses are also by him :—

“ Why does not fate shed my blood where thou art not?

It would seem that this is beyond the power of fate.”

The words which fell from her lips were brief, and I could not understand them,

The down around her lips is a marginal commentary² brief enough.

In travelling the road of love for thee I arrived at no stage At which I did not find that the pain of love for thee had preceded me.”

¹ This story gives us an interesting picture of a form of worship which commends itself to the mystics of the East, and which is not without its counterpart in ‘revival meetings’ nearer home, and ‘camp meetings’ in the far West.

² حاشیہ (*hāshiyah*) means ‘a fringe,’ ‘a margin,’ ‘a marginal commentary,’ but it is impossible in a translation to reproduce the play on this word and on the two meanings of خاتم (Khatt), viz.:—‘writing’ and ‘down on the cheek.’

ing to another account the year of his death was A.D. 1001 (A.D. 1592-93), and if this be accepted as correct the word *jahal* ('ignorant') substituted for the word *allūk* ('fool') will give the correct date¹

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Since thou art ignorant grieve not if they call thee fool,
For these two expressions are synonymous

XCVII GHERBATT OF HISAR²

He has composed a *līlā* and has studied to some extent. He used to tell the following story —

I was once in an assembly convened for the ecstatic dancing³ of dervishes by that king of saints and greatest⁴ of pious men, Shaykh Husain of Khwarazm (may God hallow his soul), and the chanters were chanting the following quatrain —

"Throughout my life I have been one of those who wear my skin as thy garment,
I am one of that brotherhood who wear the ring of thy service in their ears,
If Thou shovest me favour I am one of those who shout for joy of Theo,
And if Thou shovest me none I am one of those who are silent for Theo"

And his holiness the Shaykh, on hearing the last verse, was seized with holy rapture, and an ecstasy that communicated itself to others,⁵ so that I too, blessed by being in his company,

¹ The letters of *allūk* ('fool') give the total 38 and those of *جاهل* ('ignorant') 39. If therefore the latter word be substituted for the former in the chronogram given above the grand total will be 1001 instead of 1000.

² The text has مبارت دا دا يکدیگر اسپ مبارت دا دا يکدیگر است

³ Gherbati is not mentioned as a poet either in the *Ain* or in the *Tabaqat*. Hisar Firuz was the chief town of a *sarkar* in the *Suba* of Dihli, and is now the headquarters of a district in the Panjab.

⁴ سماج vide p. 9 and note 1

⁵ حتم, literally 'soil'

⁶ تراجم

which I had written on the astrolabe. He was a man of noble disposition and high aspirations, and his brother, Mir Sharif, had many excellences and perfections. Mir Taqī used to say that in his family he and his brother, with their uncle, Shāh Fathn-llāh, were the only ones that held the *Sunnī* faith, all the others being bigoted *Shī'ahs*. The following verses are by Mir Fārīghī :—

“ Well is it for me that in accordance with thy promise
 happy in my abode of toil

“ I sit, glancing ever and again expectantly at the door.”

“ To such a point does love at length bring intimate associa-
 tion with the beloved

 That the lover finds himself a stranger to separation.”

“ On the humble body of Majnūn no scar was visible ;
 For the footprint of Lailā’s camel was impressed on
 him.”

“ The festival time has arrived and I am constantly anxious,
Hoping, O Lord, that I may have speech with her, in order
 to offer my congratulations.”

“ So frequently has the country of my heart been ravaged by
 the army of thy love

 That the caravan of patience never unfastens its burdens
 there.”

“ Love’s madness can easily unfasten those knots in love’s
 bonds

 Which wisdom, with all its pretensions, cannot, with count-
 less efforts, unfasten.”

“ Fārīghī has girded up his loins in the service of that lovely
 one on the condition

 That he never, until the day of resurrection, unfastens from
 his waist the sacred thread of idolatry.”

“ In her absence, O death, I have put up with my life,
 But now I can no longer sit patiently waiting for thee.”

The following is the opening couplet of an ode which he wrote in praise of his holiness our sponsor the eighth *Imām*, Rizā' (blessings and praise be upon him!):—

XCVIII GHAIRATI OF SHIRAZ¹

He spent some time in India and returned to Shiraz. The following verses are some of his —

"I would not consent to the slaying of others for I know
That death has taken the bitterness of death from the danger of my executioner"

"Devotee, the knot in the string of thy rosary cannot be loosed without sincerity"

Go, and for a time convert thy rosary into the sacred thread of the fire worshippers"

"A pleasant country is the street of love,
For there all the malice of the heavens is changed to kindness"

"I am slain by the dagger of that slayer who so shed my blood
That not one drop of it fell on the ground"

XCIX FARIGHI OF SHIRAZ²

He was the brother of Shah Fathu'llah³ who has already been mentioned. When he came for the first time to Hindustan Barham Khan the Khānqāhanā asked him as Farighi was the poetical name of the well known Shah Abdul Wajd of Khurafat to whom he was closely bound in the bonds of friendship and religious dependence, to change his poetical name to Taqī. He used this name for some time, but when he returned to Iraq 293 he reverted to the use of his former nom de plume. He then came to Hindustan a second time, and died here. His son, Mir Taqī, was another Shah Fathu'llah in his knowledge of astronomy and astrology, and I presented to him a part of twenty chapters

¹ The very brief description of Ghairati given in the *Tibaqat* is word for word the same as that given here. In the *Ain* (1595) he is thus described: "His diction is good and he knows the history of the past."

² Farighi is not mentioned as a poet in the *Ain*. In the *Tibaqat* he is thus described, "Mir Farighi is the brother of Mir Fathu'llah of Shiraz. He was for a long time in the Emperor's service,"

³ Vide p. 216,

"When I saw her dark hair forming a garment round her body

295 I believed it to be the garment of the holy pilgrimage and wound it round myself."

CII. FIKRĪ.¹

He is Sayyid Muḥammad, the cloth weaver, well known as Mir Rubā'i. In this description of poetry he is the 'Umar Khayyām of the age. He left this world in the course of the journey to Jaunpūr,² in the year H. 973 (A.D. 1565-66), and the words 'Mir Rubā'i made a journey,³ were found to give the date of his death.

A quatrain.

"Fikrī has a head which is unfurnished with contents,
He has at his heart a secret pain for which there is no remedy.
For an age he has made his head his feet on the road of love,
He has set out on a road which has no ending."

As his verses are very well known I shall conclude by quoting the following few quatrains and a couplet which are attributed to him :—

"O heart, though thy love be a warrior, fear not,
Though her business be oppression and mortal enmity, fear not,

¹ Fikrī is thus described in the *Tabaqāt*. "He is Sayyid Muhammad the cloth weaver. He spent many years in the service of the Emperor. He is distinguished for his quatrains, since he was always writing quatrains, and he is also known as *Rubā'i* ('quatrain')." In the *Āṣn* (i, 602) he is thus described: "He is a cloth weaver from Hirāt. He generally composes quatrains." According to the *Haft Iqlīm* he came to India in A.H. 969 (A.D. 1561-62).

² Akbar was directing the campaign against the *Khānzamān* in the neighbourhood of Jaunpūr during the cold weather of 1565-66. *Vide* vol. ii, text, pp. 82-84.

³ میر رباعی سفر نمود The sum of the numerical values of the letters gives the date 973.

' When the money changer of the recurring morn opened his shop
 He exchanged every copper coin that he had for a piece of gold "

C FAHMI OF TEHRAN¹

He had travelled much and seen the world He came to Hindustan and then returned to his own country He had some poetical genius The following verses are his —

" I wish that the flame of love may so strike my grief nurturing body

That, while I weep from its burning, water may fall on my ashes "

" I will give rest to my heart by patiently bearing her message,

Though this (lost) is an impossibility to which I can never attain "

" Go, speak not of love's burning pain till the last trump shall sound,

For this world is nothing but a house of mourning "

CI FAHMI OF SAMARQAND²

He is the son of Nadir of Samarcand He was a jovial man, and expert at composing enigmas He came to India and then returned again to his own country The following verses are his

" Since the tavern keeper³ described to me the properties of wine,

My repentance of my repentance passes description "

¹ In the *Tabaqat* it is recorded that he was with the Khan-i-Azam, but as no date is given it is not certain whether the reference is to Shamsuddin Muhammad Ataga Khan or to his son Mirza Aziz Khan both of who held the title The latter is probably intended In the *Ain* (c 599) Fahmi is described as of Rajput but this Fahmi is identified as Fahmi of Tehran by a couplet ascribed to him by Abu'l Fażl which is also ascribed to him by Daghristani and in the *Tabaqat*

² Fahmi of Samarcand is not mentioned in the *Ain* or in the *Tabaqat*

³ Literally 'the chief priest of the mansions'

he said, 'Nobody has excelled me in these three *shīns*¹, *Shamshīr* ('the sword'), *shi'r* ('poetry'), and *shatranj* ('chess').' The Emperor at once replied, 'The same might be said of two other *shīns*, *shaiṣānī* ('devilry') and *shattāḥī*² ('effrontery').' Fanā'i spent some time in prison, and when he was released he was seized with madness, which, taking him by the hand, led him away into some wilderness, whither, nobody knows. He has written a *divān* and his poetry is of the character of that of the debauched Caghatāi nobles. The following couplet is by him,

"Every one attains his object by his nightly cries of 'O Lord,
O Lord!'

O Lord! Why do not I attain my object by my cries of
'O Lord!'"

The following opening couplet also, which I have borne in my mind for the last fifty years, and which is quoted in the *Tārīkh-i-*
²⁹⁷ *Nizāmī*,³ is by him:—

"I say not that I have a house worthy to be honoured by
thy footsteps,
I am a stranger, and humble, and have but a waste corner."

(The following is another opening couplet.)

"Whilst thy rosy face blossomed above the rosy wine
The wine blossomed in the cup from the reflection of thy
rosy face."

CIV. FUSŪNĪ OF YAZD.⁴

He is a Sayyid, a story-teller, and has a mind adapted to

¹ The three words begin with the letter ش (shīn) as do also the two words added to them by Akbar.

² This word is not in the text, but both MSS. have it. It may perhaps have been an afterthought of some scribe, but is very applicable to the boastful Fanā'i.

³ Scil. The *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, by Nizāmu-dīn-Ahmad.

⁴ Fusūnī is not mentioned in the *Tabaqāt*. In the *Aīn* he is called a Shīrazi, while Dāghistānī and the *Ātashkada-i Āzar* say that he came from Tabriz. Dāghistānī adds that he served under Jahāngīr and Shāhjahān as a *mustaufī*. The *Mir'ātu-l-'Ālam* mentions a Fusūnī who was an *amīr* in

In the army of her beauty her two eyes are warriors,
For the rest, the down on her cheek and her mole are the
dark colour of the host

"If one will not, like the sun, suffer the sword to be raised
above his head

The sky shall not be clad from head to foot in gold for him
If the gardener will not endure the hardships of the thorn,
He shall receive into his bosom no loved one in rosy gar-
ments like a bud"

"On the morrow, when nothing shall remain of this world 296
but a tale,

When signs shall appear of the Resurrection's spring,
The beloved ones shall raise their heads from the dust-like
verdure,
And we too shall raise our heads in courtship."

"Thou goest with thy locks dark as night, and like dew on
every side

Salt (wit) rains from thee, alas for wounded hearts!"

CIII FANA'I

He is a Caghātā of noble descent. He has travelled much and has acquired honour by visiting the holy places of pilgrimage (Makkah and Madinah). He has performed notable services in the field and at one time held the title of Khan, but on account of some misconduct he was degraded from that rank. One day

¹ This poet appears to be identical with Shah Fana'i, mentioned in the *Ām* (i, 426) as a commander of one thousand. He served in the conquest of Malwa and fought in the battle of Sārangpur against Baz Bahadur, early in A.D. 1561. The poet Fana'i described in the *Tabaqat* is undoubtedly the same person, for the couplet there attributed to him is one of those here, attributed to him by Badaoni, but in the *Tabaqat* he is thus described, 'He is Mulla Khwājā, the goldsmith, who has spent all his life in this court. He was at first in the service of Mirza 'Askari'. 'Askari Mirza was one of the brothers of the Emperor Humāyūn, and was consequently Akbar's uncle.'

Hakim.¹ By birth he belongs to the Langāh² clan. It seems
 238 probable that he was captured by a soldier in some of the wars
 in Hindūstān and was placed in the service of the late Emperor,
 and was then brought up with Mirzā Muḥammad Hakīm. He is
 somewhat studious, in a desultory manner, and is moderately
 skilled in penmanship. He has a general knowledge of music,
 and can beat the drum after a fashion.³ In body he is well pro-
 portioned. He came to court and paid his respects, with Qāzī
Khān of Badakhshān, between Jaunpūr and Āgra, when the Em-
 peror was returning from his expedition to Patna. Although
 he does not study assiduously he is naturally somewhat ready in
 etymology, and it gradually becomes evident that he has under-
 stood the whole drift of any stiff argument.

The following verses are his:—

“Thou hast made a stranger the object of thy regard.
 What means this?

Thou hast cast out the slave from thy regard. What
 means this?

I have seen nobody in this age to equal thee in beauty and
 grace.

But thou hast destroyed the value of beauty. What
 means this?”

“What remedy is there but death for this sick body?
 Go, physician, waste not thy pains on me.”

Nowadays it is reported that he boasts that he has written an-
 swers⁴ to most of the odes in the *dīvāns* of ancient and modern

¹ King of Kābul, second son of Humāyūn and brother of Akbar.

² An Afghān clan, six members of which ruled in Multān as independent
 kings for ninety-two years from A.D. 1445. *Vide Āīn-i-Akbarī* ii, 334.

³ Bādāoni certainly seems to be damning Firūza with faint praise, but
 playing the drum is more highly regarded in the east than it is in Europe.
 Drums, which are of several sizes and shapes, are carefully tuned, and are
 usually played with the fingers and the heel of the hand, with a certain
 amount of expression.

⁴ An ‘answer’ to a poem is a poem imitating the original in metre and

poetry He came from Thitha¹ and obtained a post in the Emperors service The following verses are by him —

"Why didst thou needlessly pass by the unworthy ?

And, if it was necessary to pass by him, why didst thou glance towards him ?

Thou wert in talk with a stranger, and, when thou sawest me from afar,

If thou didst not completely veil thyself from me why didst thou draw thy veil but a little ?

"When I arrived, and thou wert in talk with a stranger,
Thou didst distract his attention, and then glance covertly
towards me "

"Fnsun made his obeisance to thee merely to deceive others,
Had it not been for this such a worthless wretch would
have been unworthy of making his obesiance '

"When she had, after making a thousand promises, shown
me her face but once,
She then, for fear of strangers, showed it but for a moment and went "

"He who is slain by the glance of the beloved closes not his eyes,
As he draws his last breath he is dazzled by the face of his slayer"

CV FIRUZA OF KABUL²

He was brought up in the household of Mirza Muhammad Jahangir's reign and had the title of Afzal Khan In the *Ain* (i. 604) Fuzun is thus described, 'His name is Mahmud Beg He is an excellent accountant and knows also astronomy well'

¹ The well-known town in Sind

² Firuza is mentioned in the *Ain* (i. 526) as a commander of two hundred. He came from Kabul to India with Ghazi Khan of Badakhshan in the early years of Akbar's reign

medicine, and prose composition Shaikh Faizī had no equal in his time. At first he used to write under his well-known poetical favourably received by Akbar, and in a short time became his constant companion and friend. He was instrumental, in A.H. 986 (A.D. 1578-79), in bringing about the downfall of Shaikh 'Abdu-n-Nabī the *Sadr*, who had been one of his persecutors. It is said that Faizī wrote a hundred and one books. In 1586 he planned a *Khamsah*, or collection of five epics, in imitation of the *Khamsah* of Nizāmī. The first, *Markazu-l-Adwār*, was to consist of 3000 verses, and was to be an imitation of Nizāmī's *Makhzanu-l-Asrār*. The *Sulaimān-u-Bilqīs* and the *Nal-u-Daman* were to consist of 4000 verses each and were to be imitations of the *Khusrav-u-Shirīn* and the *Lailā-u-Majnūn*; and the *Haft Kishwar* and the *Akbarnāma*, each of 5000 verses, were to correspond with the *Haft Paikar* and the *Sikandarnāma*. This great undertaking was never completed. Portions were written, and in 1594-95 Faizī, encouraged by Akbar, completed the *Nal-u-Daman* and presented a copy to the Emperor. The *Markazu-l-Adwār* appears also to have been completed. Faizī translated from the Sanskr̥t the *Lilavatī*, a work on arithmetic, and the *Bhāgavad Gīta*. Faizī was sometimes employed as tutor to the Princes, and sometimes acted as an ambassador. He suffered from asthma and died on Ṣafar 10, A.H. 1004 (Oct. 15, 1595). He was a member of Akbar's 'divine faith.' Vide *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 490 *et passim* and Budaoni, vol. ii, text, pp. 260 309, 365, *et passim*.

A long description of Faizī as a poet is given in the *Āīn* (i, 549) from which I give the following extracts:—‘He was a man of cheerful disposition, liberal, active, an early riser. He was a disciple of the Emperor, and was thus at peace with the whole world.* * He wrote for nearly forty years under the name of Faizī, which he afterwards, under divine inspiration, changed to Fayyāzī.* * His excellent manners and habits cast a lustre on his genius.* * He composed many works in Persian and Arabic. Among others he wrote the *Sawāti'u-l-Ilhām* (vide p. 194 n. 1)* * Genius as he was, he did not care for poetry, and did not frequent the society of wits. He was profound in philosophy.* * The gems of thought in his poems will never be forgotten. In the *Tabaqāt* he is thus described, “He is one of the greatest of learned men and Shaikhs and is much respected for his resignation to the Divine will and for his habits of solitary meditation. He has grown to maturity in the Emperor's service and has been honoured with the title of *Maliku-sh-Shu'arā*. In the art of poetry he is a prodigy, and he has written a work on ethics, entitled *Mawāridu-l-Kilām*, which contains no dotted letters, and he has also written a commentary on the word of God, which contains no dotted letters. It is known as the *Sawāti'-u'l-Ilhām*. His *dīvān* contains over 15,000 verses and he has written some

poets As to what he has discovered from these sources it may perhaps become more generally known than it is at present.

CVI FAHMI OF ASTARĀBĀD.

He was a capable man He died in Dihli The following quatrain is by him —

“O thou whose face is bathed in rose water,
With ringlets curling around it like wreathed violets, 299
Thy eyes are like two beauties overcome with wine on one
pillow
Who have laid their heads together and are fallen asleep”

Couplets.

“In these days freedom from care has become ne more than
a tale,
Whither shall I go? What shall I do? The times are
very evil”

“The pitious state of the faithful is caused by thy cruelty
Remove the sword, for their blood is on thy head”

CVII. SHAIKH FAIZI, THE POET LAUREATE.¹

In many separate branches of knowledge, such as poetry, the composition of enigmas, prosody, rhyme, history, philology, rhyme, and either elaborating the ideas of the original, or introducing fresh ideas on the same subject

¹ Literally ملک الشعرا (*maliku sh shu'ara*) ‘King of poets,’ the official title given to him by Akbar in A H 997 (A D 1589).

Shaikh Abu'l Faiz Faizi, one of the most learned men of Akbar's court was the eldest son of Shaikh Mubarak of Nagor, and elder brother of the famous Abu'l Fazl. He was born at Agra in A H 954 (A D 1547). His acquirements in Arabic literature, the art of poetry, and medicine were very extensive, and he used to treat poor people gratis. As a young man he was regarded with suspicion and ill treated by the orthodox in Agra on account of his Shaikh proclivities, and when he was summoned to court the orthodox believed, or affected to believe, that he was to be called to account for his heterodoxy, and carried him to court by force. He was however, very

things as lawful, and all the injunctions of the sacred law as unlawful, and, with a view to washing away the stain of his ill-repute, which the waters of a hundred oceans (poured over it) till the day of judgment will not wash away, he used, in the height of his drunkenness, and while he was ceremonially impure,¹ to write a commentary² on the *Qur'ān*, written entirely in words which contained no dotted letter, and his dogs³ used to trample on it in all directious. At last, after all his denial of the truth, his obstinacy, his pride, and his heresy, he hastened to the place to which he belonged, and went in such sort that I pray that nobody may see or hear of the like. When the Emperor went to visit him when he was at his last gasp, Faizī barked like a dog in his face, and the Emperor used to relate this story in open *durbār*, his face was swollen and his lips had become black, so that the Emperor asked Shaikh Abū-l-Fazl what caused this blackness of the lips and suggested that Faizī had rubbed *misi*⁴ on his teeth, as the people of India use to do, but Abū-l-Fazl replied that this was not so, and that the blackness was caused by the blood which Faizī had been vomiting. But, without a doubt, the sufferings which he had already endured were very little considered with reference to his vice, his abuse of the faith, and his revilings of his holiness the last of the Prophets (may God bless him and his family, all of them). Many abusive chronograms were discovered for the date of his death. One was as follows:—

“When Faizī the atheist died an eloquent man uttered (as the date of his death) the words,
‘A dog has gone from the world in an abominable state.’”⁵

جنبات ۱. ‘Vir de quo egreditur semen coitus, lavabit aquâ omne corpus suum; et immundus erit usque ad vesperum.’ Lev xv. 16. The Muhammadan law on this point was the same as the Mosaic. The obligation was contemptuously set aside by the ‘divine faith’: *vide* Badāoni, ii, text p. 305.

² The *Sawātī'u-l-Ilhām*, *vide supra* p. 194 and note 412.

³ Faizī was very fond of dogs.

⁴ A dentifrice used in India for blackening the teeth.

⁵ مکی از جهان رفته بحال قبیح ۶. $60 + 20 + 10 + 1 + 7 + 3 + 5 + 1 + 50 + 200 + 80 + 400 + 5 + 2 + 8 + 1 + 30 + 100 + 2 + 10 + 8 = 1003$. One year short.

name of Faizi, but later, imitating the title of his younger brother, whom the Emperor describes in writing as 'Allāmi¹', and in order to glorify himself, he chose a poetical name in the same measure, viz. Fayyāzī,² but it did not suit him, and one or two months later, having packed up the baggage of this life, he took it from the world with the most bitter regret. He was a master³ of malevolent activity, idle jests, conceit, pride, and malice, and one epitome of hypocrisy, baseness, dissimulation, love of pomp, arrogance, and ostentation. All Jews, Christians, Hindus, and fire worshippers, not to speak of Nizaris and Sabehis, held him in the very highest honour for his heresy, his enmity to the followers of Islam, his reviling of the very fundamental doctrines of our faith, his contemptuous abuse of the noble companions (of the Prophet) and those who came after them, and of holy Shaikhs, both dead and living, and of his unmannerly and contemptuous behaviour towards all learned, pious, and excellent men, both in secret and openly, and both by day and by night. Not content with this he used, despite the sacred faith of Muhammad (may God bless and assoul him and his family), to regard all forbidden magnaris. In poetry he is the chief of all poets of the age and in prose composition he is alone and unapproachable. In branches of knowledge foreign to the Arabic, and in philosophy, medicine and many other sciences he has much skill. In university of knowledge he has no equal. I have enjoyed intimate friendship with this most learned man of the time from my childhood up. His gentle disposition is equalled by his cheerfulness. His angelic nature imposes an obligation on all his contemporaries."

¹ علامي 'my very learned man,' a title bestowed on Shaikh Abu'l Faiz by Akbar.

² دیپن دیپنی signifies 'abundance', with the ya yi nisbat added to it, as is usual in a ta^{ll}allus, it becomes دیپنی. دیپنی is an intensive adjective formed in the same measure as ملک, from the same root, and signifies 'profusely generous'. The ya yi nisbat converts it into a ta^{ll}allus. The letter ي (ya) in 'Allāmi' is, on the other hand, the sign of the first (singular) possessive pronoun in Arabic.

³ حیلا (Khayala) The word has perplexed the editor of the text, who says, in a plaintive footnote, *Sic, in all three MSS*

entirely devoid of any experience of the love of truth, of the knowledge of God, and of any idea of a painful longing for God, and "a favourable reception is the lot of enemies." Although his *divān* and his *maṣnavī* contain more than twenty thousand couplets there is not among them one couplet that is not as much without fire as his withered genius, and they are despised and rejected to such an extent that no one, even in lewdness, studies his verse, as they do those of other base poets.

"Verse which is wholly devoid of pith
Remains, for all time, a rough draft."

And this is stranger still, that although he has spent the whole revenue of his *jāgīrs* in having his misleading lies written and copied, and has sent copies of them to all his friends, both far and near, nobody has ever taken a copy in his hand a second time.

Thy poetry has doubtless taken a lesson from the dignity
of the veil,
For it displays no desire to come out of its private corner
in the house.

The following few couplets are taken from his selected poems which he wrote as memorials of himself, and entrusted to Mirzā Nizāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad and others :—

"Cover not thy eyelashes¹ when thy eyes travel, like feet,
(the road of love)

For stout wayfarers march with naked feet."

302 "Why dost thou cut my hand, thou sword of love? If
justice is to be done

Cut out the tongue of the slanderer of Zulaikhā."

"When we cast our bounteous glance on those who sit in
the dust

We distribute even to ants brains like those of Solomon."

"The flood of my tears will hardly turn thy heart of stone;
To turn this mill-stone the flood of Noah is required."

poetry are a favourite form of composition among Persian poets, and especially among Indian poets writing in Persian.

¹ i.e. 'Veil not thyself.'

Another said

"The date of the death of that curion Faizi is fixed by the words 'The four religions of fire' ¹

Another found the following chronogram —

"Faizi the inauspicious, the enemy of the Prophet,

301

Went, bearing on him the brand of curses,

He was a miserable and hellish dog, and hence

The words 'what dog-worshipper has died'² give the date of his death."

In the same strain was the chronogram

"The laws of apostasy have been overthrown" ³

And another wrote "Faizi was an apostate"⁴

And to the same effect is the following —

"Since he could not choose but go, there is no help but that
The date of his death shall be found in the words, 'He is
far over in sin'"⁵

He wrote poetry for a period of exactly forty years, but it was all imperfect. He could set up the skeleton of verse well, but the bones had no marrow in them, and the salt⁶ of his poetry was entirely without savour. His taste in loud raving, in horstful verse,⁷ and in infidel scribblings, is well known, but he was

¹ نَجَار مَدْهُب بَار 2+3+1+200+40+700+5+2+50+1+200=1204

This chronogram gives two hundred years in excess. Badaoni perhaps thought that any stick was good enough to beat a dog with. The 'four religions of fire' were probably Judaism, Christianity, Hinduism, and Zoroastrianism, the 'divine faith' of Akbar being, perhaps, substituted for one of these.

² چہ مگ پورستی مرد 3+5+60+20+2+200+60+400+10+40+200+
⁴=1004

³ قاعِدُ العاد شکست 100+1+70+4+5+1+30+8+1+4+300+20+
60+400=1004

⁴ بود فیضی ملعنتی 2+6+4+80+10+800+10+40+30+8+4+10=
1004

⁵ خالد فی الغار 600+1+30+4+80+10+1+30+50+1+200=1007

Three years in excess

⁶ مصالح (Masalih) 'Spices,' 'flavouring materials.'

⁷ سخريات (Sukhriyat) Verses boasting of their own accomplishments in

I asked for little, but my stock increased
 Then, though I sat down, my footsteps advanced."

The following couplets are from his projected ¹ *maṣnāvī*, *Bilqis-u-Sulaimān* :—

"I set myself again to place
 The slit of my pen opposite to the window of my heart :
 There comes from that window and enters this window ²
 That very light which serves as a guide to the soul,
 Although from this court of injustice
 The throne of the Sulaimān of my words ³ has gone on the
 breeze,
 Yet it occurred to me to consider a plan
 Whereby, by means of spells, I might bind the demons in
 chains,⁴
 Bind them, by what means I have, to the throne of my
 rhetoric,
 And adorū that (throne) from the treasures of my mind."

The following is an enigma which he composed on the name of Qādirī, :—⁵

"I will leave the mark from love's brand
 Since it is a memorial in my heart, and is the only scar
 there."

When he was absent as an envoy in the Dakan I sent him two letters from the lower slopes of the Kashmīr mountains, informing him of the Emperor's disfavour towards me and of his refusal to admit me to his presence in order that I might pay my respects. In the petition which Faizi sent to court he recom-

¹ موهوم (mauhūm) 'imaginary.' The meaning may perhaps be that the poem was the work of Faizi's imagination, but I believe my translation to be correct. The poem was never finished. *Vide p. 412 n. 1.*

² i.e. the light is conveyed from the window of the poet's heart to the nibs of his pen, the slit between which is compared to another window.

³ i.e. the poet's words of wisdom.

⁴ As Sulaimān is said to have done.

⁵ The meaning of the passage may be, "an enigma which he addressed to Qādirī." I have not been able to solve the enigma.

"O love, overthrow not the *Ka'bah*, for there, for a moment,
Those exhausted in the faith of love sometimes take rest."

"O love, have I leave to remove from the shoulder of the sky

To my own shoulder the banner of thy power?"

'How long shall I stake my heart on the blandishments of the fair?

I will burn this heart and obtain a new heart.

Faizi, my hand is empty, and the road of courtship is before me,

Perhaps I shall be able to pledge my *divān* for this world and the next"

The following is the opening couplet of a boastful ode, of which he was very proud —

"Thanks be to God that the love of beautiful ones is my guide

I am of the religion of Brahmans and of the faith of the fire-worshippers"

The following couplet is also by him —

'In this land there is a sugar-lipped multitude

Who have mixed salt with their wine and are drunk indeed."

(Poet) say thyself in what part of this poetry there is any savour

The following couplets are from the *Masnavi Markaz-i-Adwār* 303 which he wrote in imitation of the *Makhzan-i-Khyal*¹ and which did not turn out fortunately for him —²

"To beg³ for what aid I come to this door,

That I have become richer in heart and hand?"

¹ This is a mistake. The *Markaz-i-Adwar* was written in imitation of Nizami's *Makhzan-i-Lāzīm*, vide supra p. 412 n. 1

² By this expression Badaoni appears to mean merely that he did not live to finish it.

³ *gūjā* in the text. The MSS. have *gūjā*. The difference affects neither the meaning nor the scansion.

moderate in his requests, almost entirely devoid of the dissimulation so common at court, and entirely faithful and devoted to the Imperial Court. When the imperial forces were sent against Kūmblulmer¹ he, having requested permission to accompany them, went thither in the hope of offering his life to your majesty, and was in action and was wounded, and when the fact was reported he received a reward. Jalāl Khān Qūrcī² first presented him at court, and said, when presenting him : "I have discovered for your majesty an *Imām*³ with whom you will be well pleased. Mīr Fathū-'llāh⁴ also acquainted your sacred majesty, to some extent, with his affairs, and my respected brother⁵ is also aware of his circumstances; but it is well known that 'a grain of luck is better than a load of merit.'

Since your majesty's court is the court of the just, your slave, acting as though he were present in person at the foot of the august throne, when he saw a helpless man suffering persecution, has represented the case to your majesty. Had he not represented it at this time he would, in a manner, have been guilty 305 of insincerity and want of proper regard for the truth. May God (who is praised) deign to keep the slaves of your majesty's court constant in the path of truth, justice, and righteous dealing under the heavenly shadow of your majesty, their Emperor; and may He long maintain your majesty as their shelter, the cherisher of the miserable, the bestower of favours, the coverer of faults, with boundless wealth, glory, greatness and majesty, by the honour of the pure ones who dwell in the courts of God and the enlightened ones who rise betimes to praise him. Amen. Amen.

¹ This place, the name of which is variously spelt by Badāoni, is Kūmblalgarh, a fortress on the western border of the Udaipūr State in Rajputāna, about 40 miles north of Udaipūr city. *Vide* text, vol. ii, pp. 227, 266. It was in April 1576 that Budāoni asked for and obtained leave to accompany this expedition.

² Jalāl Khān Qūrcī was a commander of five hundred. He distinguished himself in the field and Akbar was much attached to him. He was murdered, in mistake for Shimāl Khān, early in 1576. *Vide* *Aīn-i-Akbarī* i, 475.

³ The reader and leader of prayers in the *musjid*.

⁴ *Vide* p. 216.

⁵ Shaikh Abū-l-Fazl.

mended me to the Emperor's favour and Shahīd Ahlu'l Fazl was ordered to embody that petition in the *Akbarnāma* in order that it might be read as an example of what such documents should be. The following is a copy of that petition, which was dated on the 10th day of the month *Jumādi u l Awwal* A.H. 1000 (February 23 1592) and despatched from Ahmadnagar to Lahore —

'Refuge of the world! There lately came to me from Badaon two relatives of Mulla 'Ahdu'l Qadri in a very disturbed state of mind, weeping, weeping and tortured by anxiety. They told me that Mulla 'Ahdu'l Qādir had for some time been sick and had been unable to keep his promise to attend at court that some 304 of the Emperor's officers had carried him off with force and violence¹ and that they did not know what the end of the matter would be. They also said that the long duration of his sickness had not been reported to your majesty. Cherisher of the broken spirited! Mulla 'Ahdu'l Qadri has much aptitude and he has studied what the *Mullas* of Hindustan usually study in the ordinary branches of learning. He acquired accomplishments under my honoured father and I, your slave, have known him for nearly thirty eight years. In addition to his acquirements in learning he has some skill in poetry, and good taste in prose composition, both Arabic and Persian. He has also acquired some knowledge of Indian astrology, and of accounts, in all these branches. He is acquainted with Indian and foreign music, and by no means ignorant of chess both the two handed and the four handed game,² and has some practice in playing the *bin*.³ In spite of all these acquirements he is endowed with many virtues. He is not covetous, has a contented mind, is not vacillating, is truthful, straightforward, respectful, unambitious, humble spirited, meek,

¹ شہد تام (bi shid lat : tamā :). MS (A) substitutes شوارٹ (shāvarat) malice for تام

² Akbar himself played both games. Vide *Imāz Akbar* 1, 308

³ The *bin* is a stringed instrument consisting of a narrow strip of wood connecting and placed over the openings of two dried gourds, spherical or nearly so, in shape. Along the wooden bridge are stretched five or seven steel strings, which are played with a plectrum.

Faizi wrote a hundred and one books, the *Nal-u-Daman*¹ and others, which he used to reckon. When he was near death he wrote, at the earnest solicitation of some of his friends, some couplets in praise of the Prophet (may God bless and assoil him, and of his ascent,² and incorporated them in the *Nal-u-Daman*. The following couplets are taken from the conclusion of that work :—

“ O King of Kings,³ who seekest after wisdom,
 Wealthy as the sea and glorious as the sky,
 The world is a banquet linked with joy,
 Thy reign is the wine, which stupefies the heavens ;
 I am the minstrel singing melodies drawn from the veins
 of my heart,⁴
 My pen is the sounding organ.
 If from this banquet, in which thy conversation is the cup-
 bearer,
 I arise, my song will still remain.
 • The drinkers circulate the tale
 That there is no⁵ singer, and yet the assembly is full of
 song.

¹ The text is corrupt here, and reads as though there were a hundred and one books of the *Nal-u-Daman*, which was not the case. From other sources, e.g. the *Mir'ātu-l-'Ālam*, we know that Faizi was credited with the authorship of a hundred and one books in all. The *Nal-u-Daman* is the story of the loves of Nala, king of Nishada or Mālwa, and Damayanti, daughter of the king of Vīdarbha, or Berar. Faizi's source of inspiration was the *Mahābhārata*, where the story is given at length.

² حیران (*mi'rāj*). According to the belief of Musalmāns Muhammad was caught up one night from Jerusalem to heaven, his means of conveyance being *Buzāq*, an animal smaller than a mule and larger than an ass. While in heaven he held 90,000 conversations with God, but on his return found his bed yet warm. This belief was one of those selected for ridicule by Akbar and the followers of the ‘divine faith,’ *vide* text, vol. ii, p. 316. If Faizi's recantation were genuine it must be regarded as, in some sort, a triumph for orthodoxy.

³ Akbar.

⁴ Literally ‘bloody melodies’ (*pardahā-yi-khūnī*). I believe the meaning to be that which I have given.

⁵ The text has, wrongly, اے ‘thou art not’ (a singer). From the scan-
sion it is clear that the simple negative (اے) is the correct reading.

If any should ask me what rules of humanity and faithfulness I observe in so harshly reviling one who had so much goodwill for me and so much sincere friendship, and especially how it is that I, forgetful of the command 'Mention not your dead but in connection with good,' have thus written of a man after his death, and have become one of those who disregard their obligations, I reply, 'All this is true, but what could I do?' The claims of the truth and the safeguarding of one's compact with God are above all other claims, and 'Love is God's and hatred is God's' is an established precept. Although I was for full forty years in the company of Fuzi, yet after the gradual change in views, the corruption of his nature, and the disordering of his disposition and especially in his mortal sickness, our relations were changed, and as our association together became mere hypocrisy we were freed each of the other. All of us have our faces set towards that court where all disputes shall be decided. "On that day the intimate friends shall be enemies to one another, except the pious"!

Among the property left by Faizi were four thousand six hundred valuable bound books, all corrected, of which it might have been said with but little exaggeration that most of them were either in the handwriting of the author or had been written in the authors' time. These became the property of the Emperor, and when they were presented before him he caused them to be catalogued in three sections, giving the first place to books of verse, medicine, astrology, and music, the middle place to works on philosophy, religious mysticism,² astronomy, and geometry, and the lowest place to commentaries, the traditions,³ books on theology, and on all other subjects connected with the sacred law.⁴

الطب والجواهر والمعارف والآداب والفنون

الإحياء بروايات سيدنا محمد بن عبد الله بن عباس قرآن

The text has been translated from Arabic into English.

² تصوّف (taṣawwuf), the doctrines of the Sufis

³ حدیث (hadīth) the sayings of Muhammad

⁴ The classification indicates Akbar's contempt for orthodoxy, and evidently much shocked Badoni's prejudices

The breeze of my genius has diffused the odour of roses
over my banquet,
My cup has been filled to overflowing with the wine of
delight ;
I have sat laughing, like a cup of sparkling wine,
While the cupbearer, like the bottle, stood behind me
Drinking deeper draughts than either I or my good for-
tune,
My days have been good, but my means of spending them
better.
My gardener has been happy, like thy reign,
For my basil plant has grown freely.
These four thousand jewels of pure water,¹
Which I have stirred up with the water which is like fire,
Accept, for the lustre of the gems is all thine,
They were produced that they might be scattered round
thy crown ;
If I have scattered more than I have said
I have then reckoned my harvest without any deficiency.
From this ocean which, in its turmoil, rears its head to the
highest heaven
Gems bubble forth on the crest of each wave.
Thus employed, in the art of arranging mystic sayings,
My speech has set itself to no mean employment.
Every pithy phrase with which my pen has charged itself
Has been brought by my heart from distant recesses.
My pen points out to me the road to inscrutable mysteries
Where a mountain of meaning best appears,
Hidden under phrases slight as a blade of grass.
This book is illuminated with my heart's blood.
Its allegories are filled to overflowing with true wisdom.
If its melodies be chanted in the mountains
Their sound will dance among the grains of flowing sand.²

¹ I.e. the verses of the *Nal-u-Daman*.

² ریگ روان (*rīg-i-ravān*) commonly means quicksand. I take it to mean here the sands of mountain streams, as quicksands are not commonly found in the mountains.

To-day, with my honey sweet music
 I am Bārbud,¹ thou the Khusrav of the age
 Though I have polished my pen on the heavens
 I am standing before thee on one leg²
 Look now on the arrangement of my mystical characters
 And now on my long years spent in thy service
 This poem, which bears on its tongue the name of love
 Takes thy name³ to heaven
 I am the inebriating wine of true wisdom,
 If I ferment no blame is mine
 I am the bell of thy caravan
 And must surely be excused if I give forth sounds
 The reward of my handiwork is this (appreciative) oye,
 Which I reckon among the gifts of God.
 A hundred nightingales, drunk with love, have arisen,
 singing
 That the rose of Persia has blossomed in India
 I have arrayed in splendour virgin thoughts
 In the Ganja of my genius and the Dihl of my mind⁴
 Before this, when my poems were all the current coin I
 had
 Faizi was the name written on my signet,
 Now that I am chastened by (spiritual) love
 I am Fayyāzī⁵ of the ocean of superabundance⁶
 In thy reign, incomparable King,
 Have I plucked from the bush of time the rose of good
 fortune

¹ A celebrated musician at the court of Khusrav

² The attitude in India of a suppliant, or penitent

³ لَوْلَب (lughra) literally, 'thy royal sign manual'

⁴ The reference is to the two great poets Nizami of Ganja (in imitation of whose *Laila u Majnun* this poem was written) and Amir Khusrav of Dihl. Faizi means to say that he has conceived poetical ideas which neither Nizami nor Amir Khusrav ever conceived.

⁵ Vide p. 413, note 2

⁶ Mr. Blochmann (*Ain-i Akbari*, i. 549) charitably supposes the Ocean of Superabundance' to mean 'God's love,' as, indeed, it may, but it is just as likely to signify Abkar's generosity, or spiritual gifts.

The story-tellers of the market-place base their stories on
their dreams;

But I have awoken from such stories.

This is the arena of those who have traversed the heavens
And in it valiant heroes are to be described;

Scribes whose very breath breathes magic, with the points
of their pens

Have completed the adornment of this epic.

I also, for the sake of making a name in the world,
Have with my skill in words made a talisman.

I melted down both my heart and my tongue
In displaying this picture to the world.

When my genius scattered its wit into pen,
The pen poured the water of life into the inkstand ;
The Messiah saw musk in a moist bladder
And dried it with His breath.

Is this an inkstand filled with ambergris,
Or a censer emitting smoke of ambergris ?

When this lofty dome (the sky) became my cradle
The year was 954 (A.D. 1547).¹

Now that I have spent forty-nine years in this monastery
I have passed through the seventy-two sects (of Islām)
My meeting-place has been in the idol-temples of India,
The fire-temples of Persia have been in my heart.
With a hundred incantations and magical devices
Have I cleaned from the mirror of the king's heart the scum
of rust.²

This day, among the great tribe of the ages
The sky beat the *naubat* for me on the roof ;³

¹ Faizi refers to his own birth in that year. *Vide p. 411, n. 1.* The next verse fixes the date of the completion of this poem.

² It is obvious that this 'conclusion' of the *Nal-u-Daman* does not consist of the couplets written in praise of the prophet and on his ascent, mentioned on p. 422. Here Faizi, after boasting of his eclecticism mentions with pride his part in weaning Akbar from orthodoxy. The whole extract consists of the glorification of Akbar and the poet, chiefly the latter.

³ The *naubat* was the daily music played at stated hours over the gate houses of the emperor and some of the chief grandees.

I have woveo from my swiftly travelling breath
 Saered threadds for the Brāhmans of the oīce monasteries
 My thought, which stirs np mystic truths,
 Is an ocean which produces gems from its waters
 This writing, which hrings to tho light tho escoee of all
 things,
 Is but half the shadow of my pen
 Every truth contaoed in it is as water in the stream,
 Every knotty saying is as the curl in lovely hair
 This poem is a pearl of which tho price may be fixed
 For it shows forth tho feherty of both worlds,
 This lovely idōl from tho workshop of Āz̄ar¹ received
 Its adorment in the month of Āz̄ar,²
 In the thirty ninth year of the Imperial reign,
 In the new Divine Era,³ 308
 When I reckoned up the years of the *Hijr* era
 I computed them to bo a thousand aod three alifs⁴
 This garden, which is full of thy perfume
 Is hut one 1000 of the plant of thy boundless wealth.
 I have the piospect of tho joy of another cup
 In laying out four gardens more⁵
 If love thus consumes me entirely,
 I shall make moonhght shine from my ashes
 The transparent glass of my heart is melted,
 And I will give it, as a mirroi, into the hands of the
 assembly

¹ The father of Abraham said by the Musalmans to have been a sculptor of idols

² The ninth month of the Persian solar year.

³ The era instituted by Akbar, beginning with the first year of his reign (A H 963 = A D 1556) In this era the years were solar, and the old Persian solar months were used The era was instituted in 1582, vide vol n, text, p 306

⁴ I e A H 1003 (A D 1594 95), the numerical value of the letter alif being one There is a play on the words ﴿ال﴾ (alif) 'a thousand' and ﴿ال﴾ the letter alif

⁵ Scil the *Markazu l Adkar*, the *Salatmān u Bilqis*, the *Hast Kishwar*, and the *Akkarnama*

Those who are not dumb before this splendour
 Are men who are not admitted to the privy chamber of
 imagination.

As for him whose business is with words,
 Let the age endow him with justice.
 It is the practice of those of meagre wit
 Ever to gibe at their contemporaries :
 What of those who have fallen asleep, wrapped in the sheet
 of the earth ?

Knowest thou what they said of the men of their time ?
 And those who shall obscure my light with smoke
 Will I afflict in their eyes (with their smoke).¹
 Moreover, a time will come when I shall be no more,
 And shall no longer be the nightingale of this garden ;
 Then those who struck a thorn into my rose
 Shall sigh for sorrow over my shrine.

O thou who hast poured the lees of the draught into my
 pure wine
 Pluck but a rose of the spring of justice,
 Or else take my goods at my valuation ;
 Look to their worth and consider yourself fortunate in me.
 In the morning, when I sing in this meadow
 My melodies shed a hundred gardens of flowers.
 I am humble as dust in the path of true appraisers
 Who this day, despite the ungrateful,
 When they opened this treasure from my stock.
 Cast on it a glance which justly estimated it
 And looked (with pity) on other unfortunates.
 They, like the ocean, teemed with gems
 And the diver who brought the gems to the surface
 delighted in their commendation.
 Art is intensely jealous of love
 For I have compounded this poem with love's magic.
 This pen is the source of great wonder
 That from a dry reed such moist sweetness should flow.

¹ This verse may also mean, 'I will hold them excused, owing to (the badness of) their eyesight.'

Eloquence, that King who has been my surety,
Has enthroned himself on my tongue

I have become both the equal of the amirs
And the prince of poets

In every direction I go, uttering my wise words,
The ranks of mystic significations bese the knee to me
Since love entered into my mind

I have become the adviser of the diadem which is over the
nine thrones of the heavens

The valiant swordsmen of the kingdom of rhetoric
The archers of the battle of pretensions

When they cast their eyes on my forces,
Cast down their shields in the field before me

My pen, on account of my great fame

Writes as my autograph, 'He who is mighty in speech' ,

'The pride of the philosophers is the writing on my forehead'

'The greatest ¹ of the poets' is the device on my seal
The heavenly Key has opened

To my thoughts the door of mystic significations
When my breath gave birth to this poem

Khalil ² came, and bestowed on me his length of days
If the door has been opened before me

My poems have also been endued with long life
If I reckon up all that both worlds can give

I find it to be but dust from the stour ³ which I have raised,
This pen, which has traversed the whole of my poem,

Drives its splinters under the nails of bad penmanship ⁴
See now the drift of this book, which shall last for ever,

See boundless wisdom concealed in (boundless) love

¹ Literally 'the seal' i.e. the last and greatest

² The guardian of the water of life

³ 'Dust in motion' I know of no English word by which to translate
جَهْر (ghabar) 'dust in motion' as opposed to جَارِ (gair) 'dust at rest'

⁴ Faiz here praises his penmanship Driving splinters under the nails is
a well known torture The meaning of the verse is that other penmen will
be tortured by envy owing to the excellence of his handwriting

It is well known that his father wrote in full, and in a good and legible hand, on one side of a poppy seed, the *Sūratu-l-Ikhlas*,¹ and on the other side of it the argument of the chapter; and they say that his son, Sharif, bored in one poppy seed eight small holes, and passed wires through them, and that he drew, on a grain of rice, a picture of an armed horseman, preceded by an outrider, and bearing all the things proper to a horseman such as a sword, a shield, a polo-stick, *et cetera*.

Sharif has a pleasant nature. He has composed a *dīvān* and the following verses were selected by him from his works and given to me (for insertion in this work).

“They who wander by night in the grief of longing after thee
cause me to weep,
For they travel over the road by the rays of that light of
Thine.

311 Clemency is Thine, but I am all sin.
When Thou pardonest such a one as me all will sin.”

“I sift the sparks of my lamentations in the sieve of respect
Lest, perchance, their harsh sound should strike thy ear.”

“By the blessing of love I am at perfect peace with both
worlds,
Do thou become my enemy and see with what friendliness
I shall treat thee.”

“The spacious field of my breast is so full of love
That, in spite of my earnest desire, there is no room for
more.”

“Prosperity is no assistance in our path
We have recognized the Friend in another form.”

¹ Vide p. 322, note 2.

This breath of mine is a monument to love,
 For it is vapour which arises from my inward fervour
 Fayyazi on this incantation of thine
 How long wilt thou dilate?
 It is best that thou shouldst bring thy tale to a close
 Before thou becomest, thyself, no more than a tale
 O thou consumed with love restrain thy breath,
 Have done with love's tale, have done!"

CVIII FIRSI¹

His name is Sharif, and he is the son of Khwaja 'Abdu s-Samad the painter. He is a youth lately come to man's estate, and he is unrivalled in beauty of penmanship and in painting.

¹ Muhammad Sharif was the school companion of Salim Salim who was much attached to him. When Salim rebelled against his father Sharif was sent to bring him to his senses but only widened the breach. On Salim's reconciliation with his father Sharif had to flee to the hills and jungles, and was brought to the verge of starvation. On Salim's accession to the throne Sharif at once joined him, and was appointed a commander of five thousand, nad takil and chief minister of state. In Akbar's reign Sharif had been a commander of two hundred, and Salim, when in rebellion had appointed him commander of two thousand five hundred and governor of Bihar. Jahangir says of him (*Tuzuk*, p. 6), "By his coming my heart was much rejoiced for the nature of his services to me is such that I regard him as a brother, a son, a friend and a companion. As I had complete confidence in his sincerity, his intelligence, his wisdom, and his experience of business I appointed him takil and chief minister of state, and conferred on him the exalted title of *Amirul umar*, than which no higher title is conferred on any servant of the state, and I honoured him with the title of Commander of Five Thousand, and the command of five thousand horse, though his rank was such that I was inclined to appoint him to a higher command. He, however, said at last that he would accept no higher command until he should have rendered some conspicuous service." Mr Blochmann (*Ain*, 1, 57) has mistranslated this passage. In 1607 (*Tuzuk*, p. 50) Sharif fell sick, and Asaf Khan was appointed to officiate for him. On his recovery he was sent to the Dakan but was recalled as he could not agree with the Khankhanan. He was sent again to the Dakan, and there died a natural death in November, 1612 (*Tuzuk*, p. 113).

Sharif's father Abdu s-Samad was a Shirazi. He held command of 400 horse and received from Akbar the title of *Zarru qalam* ('golden pen') Vide *Ain-i-Akbari*, 1, 49a, 57

No more will the dust of thy street be turned into mire by tears'."

"I am silent from jealousy, not from pride of love,
For no speech, save of thee, passes on my tongue."

CIX. QARĀRĪ OF GILĀN.¹

He was the son of Mullā 'Abdu-r Razzāq, and full brother to Hakīm Abū-l-Fath² and Hakīm Humām.³ He had many accomplishments and virtues, among them being poetry, penmanship and studiousness, and he was endowed with the qualities of an inclination to holy poverty and humility.

When he first came to court the emperor ordered him to be put 313 on duty with his brothers, and, when the guard turned out to salute the emperor, as he did not know how to put on a sword he appeared in the midst disordered in his dress. Some of the young wits expressed their surprise at this, but he said, ' Soldiering does not suit men like me,' and told that story of the Amīr Timūr, Sāhib Qirān,⁴ who, in one of his battles, drew up his army in a certain position, and ordered that the laden camels, and the

¹ Qarārī is thus described in the *Āin-i-Akbarī* (i, 586), ' His name is Nūru-d-dīn. He is a man of keen understanding and of lofty thoughts. A curious monomania seized him. He looked upon his elder brother, the doctor Abū-l-Fath, as the personification of the world, and the doctor Humām as the man who represents the life to come, for which reason he kept aloof from them.' Abū-l-Fazl is sarcastic at the expense of Nūru-d-dīn. Nūru-d-dīn accused his brother Abū-l-Fath of intense worldliness, and described his other brother, Humām, as one who was religious for the sake of the pleasures of Paradise, while he himself was truly religious, loving God with no motive but love. In the *Tabaqāt* Qarārī is thus described : ' Qarārī of Gilān is the brother of Hakīm Abū-l-Fath. By the emperor's order he was transferred from service at court to Bengal, where he died.'

Nūru-d-dīn Muḥammad came to India with his two brothers in A.D. 1575. According to the *Ātashkada-yi-Āzārī* he had been in the service of Khān Ahmād Khān in Gilān, and went, after the overthrow of Gilān, to Qazvīn.

² Vide pp. 233, 234 and notes.

³ Vide p. 234 and note.

⁴ The great Timūr, Akbar's ancestor, called in English histories 'Tamerlane.' Sāhib-Qirān, his well-known title, means ' Lord of the (fortunate) conjunction,' and has reference to a conjunction of the planets at his birth.

A Masnavi

" I have a grief for which may all joys be sacrificed ,
 May God guard my grief from the evil eye
 When my heart admitted the fire which burnt within me
 Even resignation became a stranger to it "

" If she has taken my heart O God, carry to her nostrils
 The odour of separation, which was mingled with my
 heart's blood " —————

" Why should I sing of my genius or boast of my intellect ?
 The fact that I am generous¹ disproves my boast "

' O intellect, how long empty-handed in the market of love
 Wilt thou ask the price of the goods and blush for what
 thou hast to offer in exchange ? '

A quatrains

" I have a love which is my religion and my faith
 I have a pain which is chief over all my possessions
 Should love be parted from me it will die
 Saying, ' Sharif-i-Farsi is my soul ' "

" To have in the breast beauty of the heart is such a wonder
 That it is pointed out like the new moon, when it can only
 just be seen " —————

" The price of gratitude, that unsellable commodity, has risen
 Because no caravan arrives from the land of grief "

" Cast not away the heart which thou hast stolen,
 Carry a treasure, although it may seem heavy "

" O zephyr, bear this message to love, ' Take courage, for we
 are gone,

¹ پلیس (Kiram), the word is plural, but evidently refers to the speaker
 پریس (Kurram) ' very generous' would fit the sense but not the metre

“ What accusation shall I make against Death ? I have received an arrow from thy eye
 Which would have killed me, even though I did not die for a hundred years.”

“ I am illumined, as a candle, by the fire of thy love,
 I humbly burn, even in my tomb.”

“ An ocean of fire is raging from my burning heart.
 Tell Noah to flee, for *my* flood sheds fire around.”

314

“ My grief is this, that however much I am persecuted by thee
 The delight of being persecuted by thee leaves my heart before I have well experienced it.”

“ Of her cruelty all that I ask is more wounds for my wounded heart,
 I am not solicitous for her favour ; all I desire is her cruelty.
 I am distracted by the pain of separation ; O love, for ages Have I desired to be distracted but for a moment by the delight of seeing thee ! ”

“ God forbid that our hearts should be beyond the need of the sight of her,
 For we are entirely guiltless, and she is beyond all need.”

“ I am rejoiced at the duration of our separation, for now I shall be able To approach her and make advances as though I were a stranger.”

footmen, and all beasts with their burdens should take up a position of safety behind the troops, and that the ladies should remain in rear of the army. At this moment the learned men¹ asked where their place should be, and Timūr replied, 'Behind the ladies.' When this story was repeated to Akbar as a rare piece of wit on the part of Qarāri he ordered that he should be sent to Bengal. He went thither, and there rendered up his soul to God² during the rebellion against Muzaffir Khan's authority.³ The following verses are productions of his genius —

"What fear is there if the whole world should become lovers
of Lailā,

So long as Lailā's heart inclines only towards Majnun?"

"For the sake of my grief Heaven confers on me a nature
like that of the Friend⁴

If I make of my darkly-clad lot a mouthful of fire"

¹ Literally, 'the lords of turbans,' a common expression for learned men who are distinguished by the turban as soldiers are by a helmet or military hat.

² حق (*Haqq*). MS. (A) has حکیمان احل (b: *Khāimān + ajall*) 'to the treasurers of eternity.'

³ Muzaffir Khan, governor of Bengal, was slain by the rebels in A.D. 1579 and during those turmoils Halimi Nuru d din Qirāti passed from the world. Vide vol. II, text, p. 282.

⁴ حبیل (*Khālit*). Abraham, 'the Friend of God.' The reference is to the legend of Abraham's persecution. Abraham had broken the idols of the Chaldeans, or, according to the Jewish legend, the idols in his father's shop, and Nimrod (Nimrod) ordered him to be burnt. A large space was enclosed at Kutha and filled with a vast quantity of wood which, being set on fire, burned so fiercely that none dared venture near it. Abraham was projected into the fire by means of an eng ne, but Gabriel was sent to his assistance, and the fire burnt only the cords which bound him, and became to him a sweet and odoriferous breeze while the pile became a pleasant meadow. Notwithstanding this the fire raged so furiously otherwise that about two thousand of the idolators were consumed by it. The legend resembles in many respects the account of the attempt to burn Ananias Azarias and Misael, as given in the third chapter of the Book of Daniel in the Vulgate, but is supposed to have had its origin in the translation of the proper name 'Ur of the Chaldees,' the city whence Abraham was brought by God, the proper name meaning 'fire.'

CXI. QAIDĪ OF SHIRĀZ.¹

He came from the glorious city of Makkah and at once entered the emperor's service and received an appointment near his person. One day before the court he said to the emperor, "Men are much harassed by this new regulation of the *dōgh-n-mahallī*² which Your Majesty has invented," and from that time forth he was debarred from court and never again girded his loins in service. For some time he wandered about in the Biyāna district as a *qalandar*³ and then came to Fathpūr, where he suffered from haemorrhoids and hectic fever. A quack whom he consulted cut the veins of his fundament, and he died under the treatment. He was of an extremely cheerful disposition.

The following verses are by him :—

"The lover has much of the merchandise of complaints, it
will be better

That he open not his pack until the market day of the
resurrection."

"O thou who hast never wandered from thy place in my
heart,

I marvel that thou should'st have found a place in the
hearts of all !"

"Though I be dying and no other comes to bid her farewell,
Hasten, camel driver, for her litter departs !"

"What ointment of thy favour is there on my heart,
That melts not my soul more than all the brands of regret ?"

¹ Qaidī is thus described in the *Āīn* (i, 599), 'He spent some time in the acquisition of such sciences as are usually studied; but he thinks much of himself.' The following is the account given in the *Tabaqāt*, 'Mullā Qaidī of Shirāz came from Makkah, entered the imperial service, and was honoured by many marks of favour. He died in Fathpūr Sikri. In the expedition to Kābul he shared the author's (Niṣāmu-d-dīn Ahmad's) quarters.'

² Regulations by Akbar to prevent the grandees and officers from drawing pay for establishments which they did not keep up. They were not entirely new, but had seldom been strictly enforced and were much resented, as all interference with customary embezzlement is in the East. *Vide* text, ii. 190.

³ A wandering *darvīsh* who has given up all worldly desires.

A quatrain

" If I be seethed in the caldron of God's wrath,
 If I be placed in the flames of hell,
 This will be better than that my sins should, of mere favour,
 be fergiven
 While I am left to burn in the fire of shame "

A quatrain

" If the love of my heart should find a buyer
 I should do something that would reveal my true self
 I should se shake out my prayer carpet of abstinence
 That from each thread of it a hundred idolators' sacred
 threads would fall " —

" If I drive from my heart regret for my union with thee
 It will be better than that I should increase the regret of
 my heart by meeting with thee "

CX Qausi²

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He was in the service of the Khan-i Kalan,³ and was unequalled in those days for the carving of toothpicks, comb, and such articles. He once wrote the following couplet in a fair hand on the pointed end⁴ of a toothpick.

" The affairs of Qausi have been thrown into confusion by the ringlets of his love,
 His affairs are ever twisted in a hundred places like the ringlets of his love "

¹ The poet apparently means to say that as the union must necessarily be transient he will do well to refrain from seeking to renew both it and his grief.

² This poet is mentioned neither in the *Amnor* nor in the *Tabaqat*. His *talha ilus* is not pointed in the text, or in the MSS. If it is as I have written it, it signifies 'of, or relating to a bow, the rainbow, or Sagittarius'. It may, however, be *Qusi*, in which case it would signify 'of or relating to a cloister, cell, or monastery'.

³ Elder brother of Ataga Khan. Vide p 308 and note 2.

⁴ The text has حنجرة ملالي (*Khanyara Milali*), an expression which has puzzled the editor. The true reading is, beyond a doubt, حنجرة ملالي (*Khanyara yi Milali*) with the meaning given by me.

CXV. KULĀHĪ.¹

He is acquainted with several branches of learning, and he received the title of Afzal Khān. He came to Hindūstān from the Dākan and was enrolled for some time among the doctors of the sacred law. On the occasion on which Mīrzā Muqīm and Mīr Ḥabash were put to death² by the sentence of Mullā 'Abdu'llāh of Lāhor on a charge of heresy and of cursing the companions of Muḥammad³ he fled in terror⁴ from this country to the Dakan and departed thence for the next world. The following verses are his :—

“I tell love's secret to none but my own heart,
For my heart hears the word which I speak, and tells it not
again.”

“I placed my head on her feet, but she was vexed with me.
When I seized her skirt she snatched it away and passed
from me.”

“How long will the jealous watcher oppose my passing
through that door?
He girds up his loins in enmity against me. O Lord, let
him not gird up his loins !”

“Whenever the enemy comes to war against thee with helmet
on head,
When thou in battle smitest his helmet with thy sword,

¹ Kulāhī is not mentioned as a poet in the Āīn or in the *Tabaqāt*.

² Vide text, vol. ii, pp. 124, 198, 255. The latter two pages contain references to the execution of Mīr Ḥabash. From this passage it is evident that he suffered with Mīrzā Muqīm.

³ تبارہ (*tabarrā*) vide vol. i, trans. Ranking, pp. 576, 577 and note 5. I may add to Lt.-Colonel Ranking's note that the word is commonly applied to actual reviling of Abū Bakr, 'Umar, and 'Uthmān.

⁴ It is clear that Kulāhī was a Shī'ah. The kingdom in the Dakan from which he came is not mentioned. Of the Muhammadan Kings in the Dakan the Quṭb Shāhī Kings of Golkonda without exception, the 'Ādil Shāhī Kings of Bijāpūr with one exception, and the Nizām Shāhī Kings of Ahmadnagar with very few exceptions, were Shī'ahs.

CXII QADRI¹

He had some poetical genius The following couplet is his —
 "Love's madness gives me not se much graco that my soul
 May know how it is to como forth and ho laid is an offering
 at hei feet "

CXIII QANDI²

He came from Transoxiana to Agra in the time of Bairam Khan, and there studied I have seen no poetry of his but the following odo —

"The hermitage in which I follow my devotions is a corner
 of the wine shop,
 The ecstatic shriek³ which I hear is the shout of the
 drunkards,
 My patched robe of devotion and piety has been pawned for
 wine
 The gurgling of the wine flask is for me the murmur of
 prayer and praise
 Qandi was journeying, destitute towards the temple of
 Makkah,
 When a lovely being waylaid him and he turned aside to
 the idol temple '

CXIV KASU

This is the poetical name of Mir 'Ala u d d'ulab,⁴ the author of the *Tazkiratu sh Shuara* which is the soureo from which this treatise has been compiled It is superfluous to describe him and to quote his poems here even if it were not the case that the author is a poor judge of poetry and is ill qualified to make selections It is better that I should recount my own deficiencies than that I should leave it to be done by others Most of the complets which I have written in imitation of others will bear ont what I say

¹ Qadri is not mentioned as a poet either in the *Ain* or in the *Tabaqat*

² Qandi is not mentioned in the *Ain*, nor in the *Tabaqat*.

³ One of the performances of the *Sufis* in their 'worship' Vide p 92

⁴ Vide p 239 and note 1

"My whole body would turn to blood and flow out at my eyes
If I knew that weeping would be of any avail."

CXVIII. LIQĀ'I OF ASTARĀBĀD.¹

He is an epitome of many accomplishments. He was for some time with the Khānzamān. The following couplet is from his poems :—

"My tongue made mention of my heart-subduing sword,
May it be well with the speech that I uttered."²

CXIX. LIWĀ'I.³

He was descended from one of the holy men of Sabzavār. He had a pretty wit, and was for some time in service at court. The following verses are his :—

"When the stranger comes towards thee to see thee
I stand between thee and him, that haply he may not see
thee." —

"I speak not of thee to the stranger
Lest desire for thee should find a place in his heart."

"When the lewd mention with lubricity the names of their
lights-o'-love
I ever fear lest, by some error, thy name should be men-
tioned."

Khurāsān. Occasionally he wrote poems. When the Uzbaks took Sabzavār Mīr Yahyā went to India and left Kāmī, then twelve years old, with one of his relations in Sabzavār. At the request of his father Kāmī came to India, and was frequently with the Khānkhanān. He went afterwards back to Khurāsān, and the author of the *Ma'āṣir-i-Rahīmī* saw him, in A.H. 1014 (A.D. 1605-56), in Hirāt. While travelling from Hirāt to his home he was killed by robbers, who carried off the property which he had acquired in the Khānkhanān's service.

The *Haft Iqlīm* says that his poems are good, but that he was irascible and narrow-minded.

¹ Liqā'i is mentioned neither in *Āīn* nor in the *Tabaqāt*.

² I.e. may it come true.

³ Liwā'i is mentioned in the *Āīn* (i, 613) as Pīrzāda, nephew of Mīr Davām of Khurāsān, a singer and chanter.'

(The sword) cleaves his helmet as a pen divides the columns on the paper, and, with the red blood,
Draws a ruled column on the page of the field of battle "

CXVI KALAMI¹

He is of Caghatai descent and was for a long time in Sind. He used to be constantly arguing and wrangling with Mulla Niyazi.² He came from Bakar,³ and was for some time in Agra. He writes poetry after the style of the men of Transoxiana. The following verses are his —

" I attempted to close the road against my tears by thinking
on thy ringlets,
But water is not to be bound with a chain '

" Thy face is the fountain of love, and drops of sweat
Like bubbles appear everywhere on it
Look on the bud of my bleeding heart and see
How it has been cleft once and again by my love's sword,
and is smiling "

" Sit for a moment, of thy grace, in the eyes of Kalami,
For there is to be found a purified corner, and water will be
in thy sight. '

CXVII KAMI OF QUM⁴

He is a youth lately arrived at man's estate and has recently come to Hindustan. His disposition is not without sprightliness. The following couplet is his —

¹ Kalami is not mentioned either in the *Ain* or in the *Tabaqat*, as a poet.

² *Vide infra* No. CLIII

³ The capital of a *sarkar* or revenue district, in the *Sabah* of Multan. *Vide Ain-i-Akbari*, II, p. 333.

⁴ Kami is thus described in the *Tabaqat*. "He is a youth lately arrived at man's estate and has a poet's tongue." In the *Ain* (I, p. 160) he is called Kami of Sabzavar and Abu'l Fazl remarks that his mind is somewhat unsettled. Mr. Blochmann adds the following note. "Kami's father Khyaja Yalys, was a grocer, and lived in the Mandau Mahallah of Sabzavar, in

CXXI. LUTFĪ THE ASTROLOGER.¹

He was a good boon companion, and had by heart so many of the verses of the great masters of poetry that he could in one night recite a thousand verses on any subject. He also imitated the great poets well. He was for some time with Mīrzā Nizamud-dīn Aḥmad in Gujarāt, and by his efforts received a fixed sum of money granted for the purpose of enabling him to travel, and embarked on a sea-voyage. The following couplets are by him:—

“That face like the pomegranate flower became like a par-
terre of roses from the glow of wine,
O rose-sellers, good news ! Roses are plentiful.”

“In the breeze of the rose-garden I smelt but the odour of
thee.

I passed by no rose but it wafted to me the odour of my
love.”

“If my heart becomes a flame of fire, what then ? It will
wither away.

If the rose of my fate blossom from paradise, what then ?
It will fade.”

“Each sigh that I heaved over thee in regret
Has become a palm-tree to adorn the meadow of my
repentance.”

CXXII. MĪR MURTAZĀ SHARĪFĪ OF SHIRĀZ.²

He was the grandson of Mir Sayyid Sharif-i-Jarjānī,³ (may his tomb be hallowed). In the exact sciences, in various bran-

¹ MS. (A) calls this poet ‘Mīr Luṭfī.’ In the *Tabaqāt* he is thus described:— ‘Mulla Luṭfī the Astrologer composed good extempore verses, and could recite as many as a thousand couplets at one sitting. He was a good companion over the bottle, and a mimic. He understood astrology well, and was in the company of the author for several years.’

² Mīr Murtazā is mentioned in the *Āīn* (i, 540) as one of the learned men of the third degree, acquainted with philosophy and theology.

³ *Vide* vol. ii, text, p. 84, where Mīr Sayyid Sharif is thus described : ‘that paragon of mankind, the eleventh intelligence !’ From this passage it

In A.H. 995 (A.D. 1587) in Lāhor, a wall, blown down by some ill wind, fell on his head, and the coin of his life was whirled away by the breeze. As he was unrivalled as a singer and chanter this chronogram was composed on the event —

“Alas, that by the efforts of the unjust sky
 A nightingale of sweet song is gone from the garden !
 He was so smitten on the lorn by a whirling stone
 That he was wounded and went from out midst.
 I asked of wisdom the date of his death,
 And received the answer, ‘The *Pizzāda* has gone from
 the world’”¹

CXX LA'L²

He is Mirza La'l Beg, the son of Shāh Quli Sultan of Badakhshān. He is a young man of exceeding nobility of disposition, and is distinguished by the delicacy of his beauty, and as well known for the purity of his nature as for his beauty of form. He is remarkable for his good manners, his humility, his amiable disposition, his courtesy, and his modesty, and he is one of the intimate associates of the emperor. At the present time a *farmān* has been issued from court to him in the Dakan ordering him to leave the service of Sultān Mīrād³ and to join the court at Lāhor. He is very well read in history, and in travels. The author is bound to him by bonds of mutual acquaintance and great regard.

He sometimes occupies himself with poetry, and the following couplet from his poems remains in the author's memory —

“Since I have become as the dust of the road in thy path I
 fear
 Lest thou should not pass by me, but should take another
 way”

¹ بکر رادہ اور حبہان رفت The letters have the following values ۲+۱۰+۲۰۰+۷+۱+۴+۵+۱+۷+۳+۵+۱+۵۰+۲۰۰+۸۰+۴۰۰ = ۹۷۶. The chronogram is thus wrong by no less than 19 years.

² I have not been able to discover any mention elsewhere of La'l or of his father.

³ Albar's second surviving son at this time (A.D. 1595) employed in the Dakan.

the *Lawā'iḥ*¹ in which it is said that some have believed that contentment consisted in the accumulation of material possessions and consequently remain in distraction to all eternity, while others, knowing for certain that the accumulation of material possessions is one of the causes of distraction, have washed their hands of all things.

CXXIII. MAḤWI.²

This is the poetical name of Mīr Maḥmūd the *Munshī*, who was for twenty-five years chief secretary to the empire of Hindūstān. His daughter married Naqīb Khān.³ He had some poetical talent, and wrote poetry like a secretary. The following quatrain is one which he wrote at the beginning of the *dīvān* of Bairam Khān :—

“ Of being and of a place of existence there was in the beginning no trace,
 For all things came into being by virtue of the two letters
 of the command ‘ Be.’
 Since these two letters were the key of existence
 They have become the opening couplet of the preface to the
dīvān of things seen.”⁴

The following is another quatrain of his, an enigma on the name ‘ Qāsim ’ :—

¹ Probably the *Lawā'iḥ-i-Jāmī*, a work on ethics by the famous Persian poet, Mullā ‘Abdu-r-Rahmān-i-Jāmī.

² Mīr Maḥmūd is not mentioned as a poet in the *Aīn*, or in the *Tabaqāt*. Mīr Mughīṣ, who also had this *takhallus* is mentioned in both works.

³ Mīr Ghayāṣu-d-dīn ‘Alī, son of Mīr ‘Abdu-l-Latīf, a Saifī Sayyid of Qazvīn. He was a commander of nine hundred under Akbar. He came to India with his father while Akbar, after his accession, was still in the Panjab. He was Akbar’s reader, was very proficient in history, wrote several portions of the *Tārīkh-i-Alfi* and superintended the translations from Sanskrit into Persian. On the accession of Jahāngīr he was made a commander of fifteen hundred. He died at Ajmer in A.H. 1023 (A.D. 1614) and was buried beside his wife within the enclosure of Mu’īnu-d-dīn Gishtī’s tomb.

⁴ شهادت (*Shuhūd*). The word has several meanings. Its meaning here may perhaps be that attached to it by the *Sūfīs*, ‘ the sight of God,’ ‘ the beatific vision.’

ches of philosophy, in logic, and in metaphysics he excelled all the learned men of the age. He went from Shiraz to the glorious city of Makkah, and there studied the Traditions¹ under Shaikh Ishaq Hajar and received a teaching diploma. Thence he went to the Dakhan, and from the Dakhan he came to Agra, where he attained a higher position than most learned and erudite men of former or recent times. He employed himself in giving instruction in arts and sciences until, in the year H 974 (A.D. 1566-67), as has already been said,² he departed to Paradise. His body, which was at first interred near that of Mir Khurshav³ (God's mercy be on him), was taken to Masjid ad, and Mir Muhsin Rizavi⁴ found the following chronogram for his death —

"When Mir Murtaza left this world

It was as though knowledge departed from the race of Adam
To give the date of his departure Muhsin
Said, 'A paragon has departed from the world'

The following couplet is one of the productions of the Mir's noble genius —

"Ease of heart is not to be obtained from material possessions
The seed of ease of the heart is in the dispersal of material possessions"

It is probable that the source of this couplet is that passage in which it appears that Mir Murtaza Sharifi was one of those sent, in 1566, to the Khanzaman to convey to him the emperor's forgiveness, and to exhort him to repentance for his rebellion.

¹ حديث (hadīth) the 'sayings' of Muhammad

² Vide vol II text p 99. "In this year (A.D. 974) that paragon of the age, Mir Murtaza Sharifi of Shiraz passed from this illusory world and was at first buried in Dihli near the tomb of Mir Khurshav (on him be God's mercy). But the Sa'ir and the Qazi and the Shaikhul Islam then represented that as Mir Khurshav was a native of India and a Sunni and Mir Murtaza a native of 'Iraq and a heretic Mir Khurshav would be annoyed by his company, for there is no doubt that 'the companionship of an unworthy man is a grievous torment to the soul'. It was therefore ordered that he should be removed from thence and buried elsewhere; and this, as is evident, great injustice was done to both."

³ The famous poet of Dihli

⁴ Vide I.O. CXXIV

⁵ عالم دین و مولانا The sum of the numerical values of the letters is 974

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Whose laughing lip is a load of sugar,
 Whose row of teeth is a string of pearls from 'Adan,
 Whose musky locks are a net of calamity,
 Whose narcissus-like bewitching eye is seduction's self ;
 Thy fawn's eyes are hunters of men,
 Thy glance, drawing blood from the heart, shoots sharp
 arrows,
 Thy ringlets work naught but magic,
 The glances of thy eyes seek but to draw blood from the
 heart,
 The down newly sprung draws on the jasmine of thy cheek
 a life-giving line of musk,
 Of thy grace cast a glance towards Mahwī
 O lovely one with heart of stone and body of silver ! ”

Shaikh Faizī also, in the days of his ignorance and while he was yet a boy, practised the same metrical trick, and wrote the following ode in four metres ¹ :—

“ O thou, whose goodly figure resembles a moving cypress,
 Whose arched eyebrow is bent like a bow,
 The curl of whose locks is a snare of love's madness,
 Whose dark ringlet is the desire of Paradise,
 Thy bewitching lip is the water of life,
 The lovely down on thy cheek is the Khizr of these days,
 Thy fawn's eyes are calamity's self,
 Even a raging tiger would fall before the eyes of such a
 fawn,
 The wretched Faizī is bound in the bonds of thy locks,
 All the world is smitten with thy dark ringlets.”

One day, about the time when this hasty essay was being written, Shaikh Faizī saw in my hand the *Tazkirah* of Mir full explanation of these terms would involve a long note on Arabic and Persian prosody which would be of no interest to those who have not mastered its rules, and superfluous for those who have.

¹ See the last note. The four metres in which Faizī's ode may be read are : (1) *Bahr-i-Sarī-i-maqṭū'*, (2) *Bahr-i-Khafīf-i-makhbūn-i-maqṭū'*, (3) *Bahr-i-Ramal-i-musaddas-i-maqṣūr*, and (4) *Bahr-i-Ramal-i-musaddas-i-makhbūn-i-maqzūf*.

" There is a capricious one the dust of whose door step is my
lodging,
From whom I have gained naught but cruelty and oppres-
sion
When I see her face over the corner of the roof
Her eye shoots the arrow of cruelty at my heart '

This is a couplet of his —

" Perfume not the jasmine with musk,
Draw not a line of ambergris around the sun '

He wrote the following quatrain to describe a horse which had
been given to him by the emperor Humayun —

" O King with my like that of Jamshid, monarch of
boundless power,
I have a horse which is exceedingly lean and weak,
When I mount him, at every two or three steps which he
takes
He falls, saying, ' Now you carry me for two or three steps '

The source of this quatrain is certainly that well known
couplet, by whom I knew not —

" He goes one or two steps and then says,
' Now do you carry me for an hour or so ? '

Following the idea expressed in the following couplet by a
master of poetry,

" O lovely one with heart of stone and body of silver,¹
Whose lip is comfort and whose glance is destruction"

he wrote the following odes in two metres ² —

" O thou whose lovely face is the envy of the jasmine,
Whose comely stature is the cypress of the meadow

¹ The text has سین (Sāīn) 'fat,' 'plump,' but the metre requires سیمین (Sīmīn) 'of silver'

² There are many syllables which may be, by the rules of Persian prosody, either short or long and the art of composition described consists in the introduction of syllables of this nature in such positions that the poem may be read in two metres. The two metres in which this ode may be read are those known as *Bahr-i-sari-i-maqṣūr* and *Ramal-i-musaddas-i-maqṣūr*.

The following is an enigma by him on the word *rūb* ('the soul') :—

" O thou whose wavy locks waylay souls whom thou chidest,
O thou, the painful longing for whom pours balm on broken
hearts,

Is it the reflection of thy lip that is seen in water,
Or is it a rose-petal fallen into a cup of wine ?"

The following is another enigma, on the name of Husain Shāh :—

" How pleasant to me is the habitation in my eyes of that
moonlike beauty !

How pleasant is the acceptable aspect of her moonlike face !
Muhsin has placed his head on her feet,
For her face like the sun, and yet like the moon, is pleasant."¹

CXXV. MAUJ.²

325 He was Qāsim Khān of Badakhshān, one of the well-known *Amīrs* of the emperor Humāyūn. He was well acquainted with the art of poetry and wrote poetry well. He wrote a *masnавī* of six thousand couplets in imitation of the *Yūsuf-u-Zulaikhā* (of Jāmī)³ from which the following few couplets descriptive of the beloved are extracted :—

" The priceless jewelled band which bound her hair
Has fallen on her neck, feeling its own worthlessness beside
her hair,
She has not hung earrings of bright rubies in her ears
For there are hung distracted hearts.
Fortune, of its great favour, has not adorned
The neck of her dress with pearls like her teeth ;
For as an ornament of the bosom of her goodly dress
Drops of blood fall from her face."⁴

¹ I have not attempted to solve these enigmas. The task would be both difficult and unprofitable.

² This poet is casually mentioned on p. 314 of the text in vol. ii, but I can find no mention of him elsewhere.

³ *Vide* p. 347, note 6.

⁴ Apparently from the hearts hung in her ears.

'Alā'u d dānlah. He snatched it from me, and, tearing out the leaf containing an account of himself, tore it to pieces, just as the book of his life was torn to pieces.¹ I also, in those days when I had not repented of such vain conceits, composed the opening couplet of an ode in four metres, a mere piece of trash which is not worthy of mention. I hope that the generous recording angels have blotted it from the record of my deeds with the water of forgetfulness.

CXXIV MIR MUHSIN RIZAVI OF MASHHAD²

He sometimes exercises his mind with poetry, and as a poet stands in the same class as Mir Mahmud the *Munshi*, but is rather superior to him.³ The following verses are by Muhsin —

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"I do not desire her to be kind to me before strangers,
For I fear lest a stranger should see her and be captivated
by her" —

"One of stature like the cypress and with a mouth like a
rose bud has stolen my heart,
In the flower of my youth she has disgraced me before the
world" —

"O thou, the plant of whose graceful form is flesh with
the water of life,

The cypress is overcome with shame before thy stature"

I prefer the word *shadab* ('well watered') to *Khurram*,
('fresh') in the first hemistich.

¹ 'The book of his life' is a figurative expression. The author means to say that Fuzi destroyed the leaf as utterly as his body was afterwards destroyed by death. His reason for doing so seems to have been that he was ashamed of his childish essay in poetry of several metres.

² Rizavi is not mentioned as a poet in the *Ain* or in the *Tabaqat*. He was sent on an embassy to the Dakan, from which he returned early in 1574. *Vide* vol. II text p. 171.

³ The author uses a very vague expression here. Its literal translation is 'He is in the same world (or category) as Mir Mahmud the *Munshi* but more so'. Whether the words 'but more so' mean 'rather better' or 'rather worse' depends entirely on Badaoni's estimate of Mir Mahmud's verse at the time when the sentence was penned.

“ Cup-bearer, how long shall we dilate on
 What we have suffered from fate ?
 Fill the cup, that we may for an hour free our hearts of
 grief.”

Towards the end of his life he gave up the profession of arms, resigned his appointment, and retired into the corner of seclusion. How well would it have been with him had he also given up the writing of poetry !¹ His death occurred in Agra, in A.H. 979 (A.D. 1571-72).

CXXVI. MIRZĀDA ‘ALĪ KHĀN.²

He was the son of Muhtaram Beg, one of the well-known *Amīrs* of the emperor Humāyūn. He was a man of pleasing qualities, and was fond of poetry, and sometimes wrote it. The following couplet is his :—

“ In the evening when thou throwest the veil from thy face
 The sun, unable to bear the dazzling sight, sets.”

He was slain in Kashmīr in A.H. 996³ (A.D. 1588) in the battle in which the imperial forces under Qāsim Khān, *Mīr-i-Buhr*,⁴ were defeated in a night attack made by Ya‘qūb, the son of Yūsuf Khān of Kashmīr.

¹ The author is not casting aspersions on Maujī’s verses, but is regretting that he did not give up a pursuit which is regarded by strict Muslims as a vain, if not unlawful, occupation.

² Mīrzāda ‘Alī Khān was a commander of nine hundred. He served in the expedition in Mālwa against ‘Abdu’llāh Khān Uzbak in the ninth year, and in the seventeenth year in the war in Gujarāt under the Khān-i-Kalān. Two years later he commanded an expedition against Qāsim Khān Kāsū in Bihār. In the twenty-third year he accompanied Shāhbāz Khān in the war against Rānā Partāb. He then served in Bihār under the Khān-i-A’zam and in Bengal near Bardwān. In 1586 he was ordered to join Qāsim Khān, who was on his way to Kashmīr. *Vide Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 443.

³ Mr. Blochmann says (*Āīn*, i, 443) that he was killed in A.H. 995 (A.D. 1587) in a fight in which the Kashmīris defeated an imperial detachment under Sayyid ‘Abdu’llāh Khān. I do not know what authority there is for this statement, but we can hardly refuse to accept as correct the statement of Badāoni, who was apparently a personal friend of the poet, and mentions his death in three passages, here, and in vol. ii, (text) pp. 354, 369.

⁴ A commander of three thousand, and one of Akbar’s chief *amīrs*. He

When gold saw itself spurned by her feet
 It fell in showers round her feet like fine muslin
 The whiteness of her neck, like a camphor candle,
 Rises from the bosom of her dress like a cord of light
 The whiteness of her arm exceeds that of silver,¹
 Her fore arm is as a chaplet of roses hung on jasmine
 From those two sweet chaplets of hers
 Her sleeves are filled with jasminc
 Her palm is as though she had taken a rose petal in her hand
 Each finger is like the bud of a lily set upon it
 Her breast and shoulders, which deprive the mind of sense,
 Seem to have taken a harvest of roses into their embrace
 As I am making entries in the register of her beauty (I
 may say)
 That the pure whiteness of her bosom exceeds that of milk,
 Her two nipples of incomparable beauty,
 Are as bubbles on the surface of milk.
 Her waist transcends the bounds of description
 For here the utmost delicacy is to be seen "

He has also written a poem *Lata-n-Maynun* of which this couplet of his is quoted —

"An old man of an honourable tribe
 Whose beard is like a white rose a yard in length"

The following quatrain, he used to say, occurred to his mind in a dream —

"O breeze, bring me some news from the street of my beloved !
 Bring to my dying body good news of my life.
 It is hard for me to arrive there
 Do me this favour and letake thyself thither swiftly" 326

"The cup-sickness of the wine of grief has made me heavy headed,
 Come, cup-hearer, and free me from the griefs of the world"

¹ Literally 'has broken the fore arm of (i.e. has overcome') silver.'

Yesterday Murādī passed away to the dust and his love said,

‘This is one who has been killed in the path of love by the stone of cruelty.

O flood of grief, wash not from my eyes the dust of his road,

For it is to me a memorial of one who, (while he lived), was as the dust under my feet.’”

“It was the blackness¹ of her locks which was all the foundation of my faith,

I am no true Musalmān if I turn my face away from her.

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Though the dog of thy street is more highly regarded than I,

Yet I am not a whit behind him in the path of fidelity.”

“The lovely ones, who have made their ringlets ornaments around their faces,

Have taken the people in these snares.”

“Absent from that rosy-faced one, my heart is contracted like a rosebud,

A madman am I, smitten with love’s madness, fighting with shadows.”

“When fate drew that line of dusky down on my love’s face,
It drew beside it the line of my dependence on her.”

CXXIX. MUSHFIQĪ OF BUKHĀRĀ.²

He came originally from Marv. Some men regard him, for his

¹ كُفْر (kufr) literally ‘infidelity.’

² Mushfiqī is mentioned in the *Āīn* (i, 583) but no account of him is given. According to the *Haft Iqlīm* he was born and died at Bukhārā. Badrānī’s statement that he came originally from Marv may possibly mean no more than that his ancestors came from that place. Dāghistānī says that he was Maliku-sh-Shu‘arā or poet-laureate under ‘Abdu-llāh Khān the Uzbak, King

CXXVII MU'IZZI OF HIRĀT¹

He was a Tabātabā'i² Sayyid, and as a boy was educated with Kamrāū Mirza³. He was for nearly fifty years in India, and it was in Hindūstān that he departed this life in the year A.H. 982 (A.D. 1574-75). The following two couplets are his —

"How long, O sky, wilt thou keep me whirling around like 327
a mote in a sunbeam?"

"How long wilt thou keep me in exile and destitute?"

"I said, 'with a sigh I will drive out grief from my heart.'
My grief is not lessened by sighs. Ah! What shall I do?"

CXXVIII MURĀD OF ASTARĀBĀD⁴

He was of the Sayyids of Astarābād. He came to Hindūstān and died in A.H. 979 (A.D. 1571-72). He is remembered by many verses which he has left, a few of which are the following —

"She showed her face from behind the curtain. Ah, this is indeed the dawn!"

"This is the perfection of God's omnipotence in his handiwork."

"Not even on one night has the star of my desire risen in thy face,"

"This is indeed my ill-fate and my evil fortune."

"See that thou harbor not after delight of the heart, and also

In the dust-bin of this world, for this is the house of toil."

conquered Kashmīr and in the thirty fourth year was made governor of Kābul. He was murdered in A.H. 1593 by a young man who pretended to be a son of Mirzā Shāhrukh. Vide *Imāk Akbari*, i, 379.

¹ Mu'izzī is not mentioned as poet in the *Ām*, nor in the *Tabaqat*.

² That is to say, a Sayyid descended from Ismā'il bin Ibrāhīm, great grandson of 'Alī, who was called *Tabatabā* on account of his pronouncing the letter *g* like *b*.

³ Younger brother of Hūmāyūn, and uncle of Akbar.

⁴ Murād is mentioned as a poet neither in the *Ām*, nor in the *Tabaqat*.

CXXX. MAILĪ OF HIRĀT.¹

His name was Mīrzā Qulī. He left a *dīvān* and was a master of poetical style. His taste in poetry was such that if he had lived till now most of the raw poetasters of to-day would have grown sick of trafficking in verse, and from the time in which he flourished until now none of our later versifiers can be mentioned beside him. He was for many years in the service of Naurang Khān,² and wrote several brilliant encomiastic odes on him. It is said that on account of some suspicion against him something was at last, by order of Naurang Khān, put into his cup, and that he was thus sent from the world. His death took place in Mālwa. The following verses are by him :—

Abū-l-Fażl, in the *Āīn* (*loc. cit.*). Abū-l-Fażl transfers the simile from the Hindus, whom he liked, to the learned among orthodox Muslims, whom he disliked. *Vide* Mr. Blochmann's note (*Āīn*, *loc. cit.*). Mr. Blochmann remarks that the first couplet of the fragment is a parody on (he should have said 'was suggested by') a couplet in the well-known *ghazal* which Hāfiẓ (ode 158, Jarrett's edition) sent to Ghīyāṣū-dīn, Sultān of Bengal :—

شکر شکن شوند همه طوطیان هند زین قند پارسی و بینکاله میدرود

"The parrots of Ind will be tasting the sweets
Of this Persian sugar now sent to Bengal."

Mushfiqī seems to have been a diligent student of Hāfiẓ.

¹ Mailī is thus described in the *Tabaqāt*: 'Mīrzā Qulī, Mailī, was for years in the service of Naurang Khān, who was one of the *amīrs* attached to the emperor's exalted family. He has written a *dīvān* of *ghazals* and *qaṣīdahs*.' In the *Āīn* he is thus mentioned, 'His name was Mīrzā Qulī. He was of Turkish extraction and lived in the society of gay people.' The year in which he came to India is variously given as A.H. 979 (A.D. 1571-72) and A.H. 983 (A.D. 1575-76). The *Ātashkada-yi-Āzārī* says he was brought up in Mashhad. According to Dāghistānī he belonged to the Jalāir clan, lived under Tahmāsp, and was in the service of Sultān Ibrāhīm Mīrzā, after whose death he went to India. He is much praised for his poetry; the author of the *Ātashkada* says that he was one of his favourite poets.

² Naurang Khān was the son of Qutbūn-dīn Khān, the youngest brother of Shamsu-dīn Muhammad Khān Atunga. He served under Mīrzā, Khān-khānān in Gujarāt in A.H. 992 (A.D. 1584), and received a *jāgīr* in Mālwa and subsequently in Gujarāt. Mr. Blochmann (*Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 334) says that he died in A.H. 999 (A.D. 1590-91), but, according to the *Tabaqāt*, where he is styled a commander of four thousand, he was governor of Jūnagāh in A.H. 1001 (A.D. 1593-94).

qasidahs, as the Salman¹ of the age, but this is a great mistake, for his conceits suffer, to an extraordinary degree, from the defects common to the poets of Transoxiana, and no all frigid He came twice to Hindustān and left the country again. The following are some of his most printed verses —

Since all the cash that Majnum had to show for his life was
his grief for his beloved,

May God pardon him in consideration of this cash, for he
loved much ! —

" For loving I have found myself much blamed,
I thought love an easy matter, but it proved to be difficult "²

" Since the meadow each night has lit in the garden the lamp
of the rose

The tulip's petal has burst into flame and both the petal
and the black scar on it have been consumed '

He had a subtle tongue in satire, and one of his witty satires
was this fragment which he composed on the occasion of his last
visit to India —

" The land of Ind is a sugar field,
Its parrots all sell sugar
Its black Hindus are like flies
In their turbans and long coats "³

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of Bulhārā. Sprenger says that he was born in A.D. 945 (A.H. 1538-39) and
that his second *dīwān* was collected in A.D. 983 (A.H. 1575-76). From the
Akbarname it appears that he was presented to Akbar at Pak Patan in A.D.
1578. He died in A.D. 1586.

¹ The great poet Salman of Sirāz died in A.D. 1367-68.

² Cf. Hafiz, 'كَعُشْقِ آسَانِ دُهْوَنِ اَرْلَى وَلَى مَشْكُلَهَا' For love
appeared easy at first but difficulties soon arose.

³ The text is apparently corrupt here. It has *نَجْعَنَة* (*najwa*) a word
which is neither Hindustani nor Persian. Mr Blochmann in the *Ain* (i. 583)
reads *تَكْوِيْد* (*takwīd*) a word certainly not in common use but explained
on p. 88 of the *Ain* as meaning the long coat commonly worn in India
usually known as *پکان* (*capkan*). The meaning of the last verse is that
the turban and the long skirts of the coat are like the large lead and straight
wings of the fly. This fragment is quoted in a mutilated condition by

The following verses also are by him :—

“ I, with my wounded heart, am a half-dead victim of the
chase, whom
The hunter in his pity quickly slays.”

“ My beloved desires my death for her ease, and I
With shame bear the burden of my weary life.”

“ I have made thee, as my beloved, a byword, and
I rejoice
In thy shame, for thou now wilt cast no glances on men.”

“ What ill fortune is Maili’s, to experience nothing but
cruelty at her hands !
She is but a child, who cannot distinguish between cruelty
and fidelity.”

“ I am alone with my broken heart, and I gladly entrust it
to thee :
Of what use will it be to me, that I should keep it ?
O my enemy ! I am at my last breath, give her to me for a
moment
That I may restore her to thee with a hundred thousand
pangs.”

“ In spite of her slights I would not arise at once from her
feast .
For if I remain I hope to be glad for a moment at least :
After long years I am sitting, on some pretence, at her
feast
And she speaks to me of my rival, hoping that I will
leave.”

ⁱ There is a difference of one letter only between the two Persian words,
جسا (jasa) ‘ cruelty.’ and رفسا (rafsa) ‘ fidelity.’

"Thou surely knowest that love for thee does not depart
with life

That thou walkest thus proudly over the dust of those killed
(by love)" —

"Thou art neither my friend nor a stranger, and I know not
What name is given to such intercourse as this"

"My heart is restless within my body which has been slain
by love,

I know not what more it expects from my beloved,
It describes as ' proving ' the cruelty which it suffers from
thee,
And by this artifice persuades itself to patience for a while."

"My life is about to leave me and I am well pleased with
this, for my heart

Has now some hope of a remedy for its many years of
pain"

"In thy absence I do not die, lest thy heart should say

'The weakling who has not experienced my cruelty could 330
not endure my absence for a day or two'"

"Although she came to ask how I failed I died,

In jealous wonder as to who it was from whom who asked
the way to my house"

"I die and have pity for those who live, for thou
Art accustomed to committing such cruelty as thou hast
done unto me"

Some people read *rashk* ('jealousy') for *rahm* ('pity') in this
last couplet. The distinction between the two is for such as have
a nice discrimination in the matter of words

"If anybody has brought about a meeting between my love
and me

Her anger with me has certainly made him ashamed of
what he has done for me.

The good news of a meeting with her, which the stranger
in ridicule gave me,

Has made me, in my simplicity, expectant of its fulfilment."

"So long as there remains between us, even in secret, any
talk of 'me and thee'

A stranger is at our feast, sitting between thee and me.¹

Thou throughg modesty enterest not into speech, and I, in
bashfulness, refrain

332 Wondering how the jealous wretchers represent what we
would say."

"She came upon me by accident, and pretended that she had
remembered her promise;

She hung her head, and pretended that she did so in
modesty."

In the following verse he has imitated the compiler of the
Muntakhab.²

"The sky desired to vex the people, and consequently
Availed itself of the ill-will of her who torments us."

CXXXI. MALIK OF QUM.³

He was supposed to be the king of words. He lived the life
of a *darvîsh* in the Dakan,⁴ and his eyes were seldom free from

¹ This couplet, which is carelessly omitted from MS. (B), deals with the favourite theme of the absolute oneness of the lover and the beloved.

² I do not know to what *Muntakhab*, or Selection, Badâoni here refers. It is not likely to be this work, for whenever he casually mentions any poetry that he may have written he adds an expression of regret for having written it.

³ Malik, not being a poet of Akbar's court, is not mentioned in the *Ain* or in the *Zabaqât*.

⁴ *Scil.* the kingdom of Ahmadnagar.

Come not to ask how I fare, since there is no hope of my recovery

The desire to see me do is no sign of love

So ardently do I desire speech with thee

That I cannot keep silence, despite my wretched plight

Thou art with my rival and Maili pretends to ignore it,

With an ignorance which is not less than a hundred regretful glances”¹

“I feign to be free from my longing for her,

That this wife of love may make her less scornful of me”

“A hundred times have I been grieved by her and again made peace with her,

But that moon-like beauty reckons not whether I be at peace or at war with her”

“What has happened that thou passest by Maili with fierce shyness?

Perchance thou art in flesh pursuit of other game”

“O Maili, that one with the wonder working breath of 'Isā² comes to thy pillow

One who had been dead for a hundred years

Would rise up in joy at her coming”

“I expected thee, faultless as thou art, to abide by thy compact,

In the great simplicity of my heart I expected this”

¹ This last couplet is not in the text, but is in both MSS. It completes the ode. The couplet runs as follows —

تو نا رقیبی و میلی عاقلي دارد تعاوی که کم از صد نکاه حسرت بیست

² ('Isā) is the name given by Musalmans to our Lord, whose miracles of raising the dead to life they attribute to His breath vide p. 224 and note.

tears. It is said that at the time of the massacre¹ of the foreigners by the Dakaris he followed the direction of those foreigners who inhabit the land of non existence. The following verses are extracted from his works —

"The edge of the sword of testimony has brushed away the dust of dissension,

I no worshipper, Christian, and Muslim are all killed by one dagger"
—

"The inmost parts of the cold-hearted are cut to pieces,
And salt is then sprinkled on the wounds in their hearts "

"Thou, with thy sweet smile, art balm to wounded hearts,
But thy eyelashes are a sharp insect to the liver²
The wine of love is not suited to the capacity of intellect,³
Thou that pretendest to knowledge art no tiger of our forest"
—

"The cloud of the eye waters thy narcissus,⁴
The sight of thee arouses no suspicion of cruelty "

"The sword of her cruelty drops with blood, I fear that 333
Malik
Will go in search of his reward to the house of the slayer "
—

"The treasury of my imagination is so full of the treasure
of the thought of reunion with her that my eyes will not
close"
—

"When the army of well being⁵ comes impudently against
thee, O Malik,

¹ Vide p. 373, note 1

² One of the seats of the affections, according to oriental belief.

³ The text has حُلْقَنْ, which does not make sense. Both MSS. have حُلْقَنْ, which reading I have followed.

⁴ The eye of the beloved is compared with a narcissus

⁵ i.e. of complacency and freedom from love

Thou sayest truly. Thou hast a wonderful figure, my moon-like beauty.”

One might say that all these poems are the tumults that are to arise at the last day.

(The following verses are by Mudāmī) :—

“ My colour is sometimes as the flame of a candle in an orange-coloured lantern,

Or perchance like an autumn leaf blown on to the tulip from the north.”

335 “ When the account of his grief was finished,
He sealed it by dropping on it a tear.”

CXXXIII. MULLĀ MAQSŪD OF QAZVĪN.²

He was one of the jovial poets of the age. He left a *dīvān*, properly arranged in alphabetical order. The following verses are by him :—

“ In the condition of fidelity the dog of thy street has submitted to me.

Success has become subservient to me and the world wags in accordance with my desire,

All lovers have their glances fixed on thy beauty,
O king of beauty, thy face is my full moon.”

“ I planted in my heart the plant of desire for her,
But this rose-cutting has yielded me nothing but grief.”

“ I had some hope that I might one day hold her ringlets in my hand,

it appears in both MSS. and serves to show that the two couplets are by others than Mudāmī, as they evidently are.

¹ There is again a pun here, which cannot be reproduced in translation. The word قیامث (qiyāmat) which literally means ‘resurrection’ or ‘the day of resurrection’, is used twice, first in the sense of ‘tumults’ and secondly in an adjectival sense,—‘wonderful’.

² Mullā Maqsūd is not mentioned either in the *Aīn* or in the *Tabaqāt*, as a poet.

His thymes are a delight to his enemies, not to mention the completo lack of dignity in his diction. In my humble opinion the following couplet is the best poetry he has written —

“I stepped aside to take a thorn from my foot,
And her litter vanished from my sight
For one moment I was negligent and it travelled a hundred
years' journey¹ from me”

CXXXII MUDAMI OF BADIBUHAIN²

He had good taste in poetry. He was for some time in the service of Mirzā 'Aziz Kūka³. The following couplet is his :—

“My heart, thou sayest that a hundred discords have arisen
on account of that graceful figure and lofty stature
(of horse),

Thou sayest truly from that one of lofty stature I have
experienced many calamities.”

Many have written verses on this theme, but they have travelled round about one another without progressing, and then verses are insipid. One writes as follows —

“Thou sayest that calamity and strife have arisen in the
world from her footsteps⁴”

“Thou sayest truly Veily calamities also from above”⁵

Another has written⁶ —

“Thou sayest that tumults have arisen on all sides in the
city on account of thy graceful figure.

¹ The text reads بـ لـ وـ which does not make sense, as there is no substantive to be qualified by the adjectival expression بـ لـ وـ. I think the correct reading must be بـ لـ وـ, and I have translated accordingly.

² Mudami is mentioned neither in the *Am* nor in the *Tubaq*.

³ Vide p. 388 note 1.

⁴ مـدـمـ (qadam) means ‘a footprint’. The text has, and the metro requires, مـدـمـ (qadam), a word which does not exist in Persian. The letter مـ has been doubled by poetical license.

⁵ There is a double entendre here which cannot be reproduced in translation. مـ means both ‘on high’ and ‘the graceful figure and lofty stature’ of a beautiful woman.

⁶ The text omits يـكـ both here and before the preceding couplet, though

The dark surface of the earth is whitened, covered with an army of snow.

No black spot is to be found in the heart of the world,
For the surface of the earth is so contracted
That the crow can find no place for his foot thereon.¹
On the lawns of the garden, instead of blossoms and verdure,

In the ice and the snow which have fallen only ermines² are to be found.

Once more trembling has fallen on the trees in the meadow.
Like me have they become thus restless from lack of livelihood.³

In this cold air my body quivers like a willow,
In its weakness it is sometimes at fever heat, sometimes in agony.

This morning a voice from heaven conveyed good news to my ear.

Saying, ‘How long wilt thou suffer torments from the hardships of these days ?

Take refuge from the tyranny of vicissitudes at that threshold

Which is as high as the threshold of the sky,
The threshold of the trustee of the sacred law, an account of a particle of whose virtues

Would not be contained in a hundred volumes or in a thousand books,

Like ‘Ali and like Muḥammad in his qualities, Yaḥyā by name ;

Since his perfection is manifest why should I distinguish him by titles ? ’ ”

Mullā Maqṣūd died in Āgra in A.H. 977 (A.D. 1569-70). His father, Mullā Fazlu-llāh, also was one of those who deserve the

1 i.e. the ground is so cold that the crow fears to alight on it.

2 The poet here uses two words سنجاب (sinjāb) and قاقم (qāqum), both of which mean ‘ermine.’ The ermine is compared with the whiteness of the snow.

3 There is another untranslatable *double entendre* here. The word which I have translated by ‘lack of livelihood’ literally means ‘leaflessness.’

Alas, that my precious life has been wasted in this hopeless desire!"

He also wrote the following *qasidah* in imitation of Khwājā Sihman, and ticked on to it¹ the name of Qāzī Yāhiyā of Qazvin, the grandfather of Naqib Khan² —

" Once more the sky shivers with December's cold,
 The sun has veiled his head in clouds fearing the wrath of
 the thunderbolt,
 The sky once more rains arrows (of hail and snow) on the
 earth,
 The earth has made water itself a breastplate against the
 arrow of Sagittarius
 The sea monster, fearing the biting blasts of December,
 Has placed on his head a helmet of bubbles hard as iron
 Once more by reason of the abundance of snow and the 336
 intensity of the cold
 The earth has fallen a trembling like a sea of mercury

¹ Literally 'twisted' This is another untranslatable double entendre. The word has reference to the curling locks of the beloved.

² Literally, 'has added as a tail, or fringe'. The author means that Muīs Maqād, having written his odes added a few couplets as an encomium on Qāzī Yāhiyā, probably with the object of obtaining a reward.

³ Vide p 148, note 3 His grandfather, Mir Yāhiyā was a well known theologian and philosopher who had acquired such extraordinary proficiency in the knowledge of history that he was acquainted with the date of every event which had occurred from the establishment of the Muhammadan religion to his own time. He was at first patronized by Shāh Tahmasp I Safavī and was treated with such distinction that his enemies poisoned his patron's mind against him by representing that he and his son, Mir 'Abdu'l Lajīf, were the leading men among the Sunnis of Qazvin. The king ordered Mir Yāhiyā and his sons to be imprisoned in Isfahan, and Mir Yāhiyā accompanied the King's messenger thither and died there after one year and nine months, in A.D. 962 (A.D. 1554-55) at the age of 77. He was the author of a historical compendium, the *Lubbu'l Fawā'idh*, composed in A.D. 1541. Mir Abdu'l Lajīf, the father of Naqib Khan, fled to Gilān and afterwards at the invitation of Humayun, went to Hindustan and arrived at court with his family just after Akbar had ascended the throne. He was appointed preceptor to Akbar. His son Naqib Khan rose to be a commander of nine hundred in Akbar's, and fifteen hundred in Jahangir's, reign. Vide *Imāl Khāns*, i. 417.

"I know that in secret your glances are cast on me in my affliction,

I know that thy pretended neglect of me is due only to fear of strangers."

"Her eyes draw me in my affliction to perform her behests ;
She casts towards me a glance suffused with wrath."¹

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CXXXVI. KHWĀJA MU'AZZAM.²

He was the maternal uncle of the emperor, and was one of the sons of his holiness Shaikh Jām (may his tomb be hallowed). He was afflicted with insanity and mania to an extraordinary degree, so that he murdered his wife without any cause and was put to death on that charge in A.H. 971 (A.D. 1563-64), as has been mentioned in the record of the reign.³ The following chronogram has been found for the date of that event :—

"The great Khwāja, by name Mu'azzam,
Slew his wife, and was himself slain
By the wrath of the emperor, Jalāl-i-dīn Akbar.

¹ This is the gist of the second hemistich of the couplet, but the hemistich does not consist of a complete sentence and it would appear that Badāoni should have supplied the rest in by quoting further.

² Vide vol ii, text, p. 71. Badāoni, though he admits that Khwāja Mu'azzam deserved punishment, seems to blame Akbar for punishing him, and says that Mu'azzam always suffered on account of his near relationship to the emperor, quoting Arabic verses to the following effect :—

"Near relations are like scorpions in the harm which they do,
Be not deceived by either paternal or maternal uncle,
For grief is increased by the paternal uncle,
While the maternal uncle is destitute of all good qualities.

³ Vide note above. Badāoni says (*loc. cit.*) "on the day on which the emperor went to his house to give him advice and to warn him against the repetition of certain unbecoming actions which he had committed, the Khwāja, becoming aware of his approach, and either having doubts regarding his intentions or being attacked by one of those fits of madness to which he had long been subject, slew his wife. As he had thus become deserving of punishment, the emperor had him kicked and beaten and then had him ducked in water several times, and sent him to Gwāliyār, and in that prison he was freed from the bondage of his evil nature, and went to his reward." This passage in vol. ii leaves it doubtful whether Mu'azzam died a natural or a violent death, but the passage above is quite explicit.

title of man, and was held in reverence He wrote the following 337 fragment —

" Fazl ! Enfold not thyself in the robe of existence as a bud is enfolded in its sheath,
 Wrinkle not thy forehead and trail not thy skirt in blood ,
 Be like the full blown rose and like the cypress
 Be free from the griefs of this world and humble not thyself before the base sky

CXXXIV MIHNATI OF HISAR¹

He was moderately fond of study and was in the college at Dihli He was afterwards, by the emperor's order, appointed *qazi* of Suhind,² and received his poetical name of Mihnat³ from the emperor In Suhind he passed away from this house of toil⁴ the world

The following verses are by him —

" I found in my path the print of her foot,
 Why should I not press my cheek against it ?
 I have found her place

" The folk have lost their hearts in meditating on her wrist,
 slender as a han ,
 I too among them have lost my broken heart "

CXXXV MUSAWI OF MASHHAD⁵

His descent is indicated by his poetical name He had a poetical turn of mind The following verses are his —

¹ Mihnat³ is not mentioned as a poet either in the *Am* or in the *Tabaqat* Hisar is Hisar Firuz a chief town of the *sarkar* of the same name in the *zila* of Dihli now the headquarters of the Hisar District in the Panjab

² Chief town of the *sarkar* of the same name in the *zila* of Dihli, now in the Patiala State in the Panjab

³ This phrase has reference to Mihnat's *takhallus* which is formed by the addition of the *ya y; nisbat* from the word *mihnat* (*mihnat*) 'tel'

⁴ Musawi⁵ is not mentioned as a poet in the *Am* or the *Tubaqat* From what Badoni says of him here it is clear that he was one of the Musawi Sayyids of Mashhad who trace their descent to Ali Musa Riza the eighth *Imam* of the *Shiahs*

Since my heart in thy absence finds no solace in any colour ?
 Even those who bear witness to the grief which, in my
 misery, I suffer, are afflicted with grief ;
 They are my blood-red tears, my pale cheeks, and my
 wakeful eyes."

" O thou, from whose cheek the moonlight has borrowed its
 brightness,
 And in envy of whose beauty the sun burns ! "

" Each arrow that thou shootest, my moonlike beauty with
 bow-like eyebrow,
 Is as deeply embedded in my bones as the marrow of them.
 The arrow which that beauty with bow-like eyebrows has
 shot at any heart
 Has been a salve to its hidden wounds."

CXXXVIII. MUHAMMAD YUSUF.¹

He was a handsome man who was born in Kābul and brought up in Hindūstān. In penmanship he was the pupil of Ashraf Khān. He died in Gujarāt at the time of the siege of Sūrat² in A.H. 980 (A.D. 1572-73) in the prime of his youth. Ashraf Khan composed a hemistich which formed a chronogram giving the date of his death, and Mir 'Alā'u-d-daulah completed the stanza, as follows :—

" Muḥammad Yūsuf, that residence of beauty,
 Went from the world shedding tears from his eyes.

340 Au honoured man gave this chronogram for the date of his
 death.

' Where is Yūsuf of Egypt, O ye honoured ones ? ' " ³

¹ Muḥammad Yūsuf is not mentioned in the *Ālīn* or in the *Tubaqāt* as a poet.

² *Vide* vol. ii (text), p. 143.

³ The reference is to the patriarch Joseph. There is something wrong about the chronogram. The whole hemistich is كجاشد يوسف مصرى عزيزان which gives the date 1161. Omitting the last two words the total is 1005, and omitting these and also the first word the total is 984,—still four years too many.

When I asked of him the year of his death
 That man of auspicious qualities said, while he still lived,
 'Without the world-illuminating face of that lovely one
 I suffered at length by the greater martyrdom' " 1

This chronogram appears to have been composed by Mu 'Alā'u d dūlāh, the author of the *Tazkiratu sh-Shu'aā* 2 The following opening couplet was composed by Khwāja Mu'azzam —

"It is impossible for me, my soul, to recount to thee my heart's anguish,
 I suffer from this anguish to an extent which cannot be told'

In quoting this opening couplet of the Khwāja's I have simply followed Mir 'Alā'u-d-daulah Otherwise, in spite of the following opening couplet by a master of poetry, I should have said that the Khwāja's couplet was mere trash The couplet of the master 3 is as follows —

"Since I heard that I could call thy ruby lip my soul
 A fire which I cannot describe has stricken my heart"

CXXXVII MAUZUN 4

He is the son of Shaikh Pir of Āgra, who wrote seven scripts well, and whom I met in Peshawar in the reign of Salim 5 Shah His son also was a capable youth and possibly proficient in the art of composing enigmas and in penmanship He also played chess, both two handed and four handed, well These few verses are quoted as an example of his style —

"What profit is mine from the many colours of the flowers of spring

1 شہزادہ اکبر But the sum of the letters is 973 not 971 It is possible that Mu'azzam was two years in Gwalior before he died or was put to death

2 Vide p 239 and note 1

3 These words مطلع استاد اس است are not in the text I supply them from the MSS

4 Mauzun is not mentioned, either in the *Ain* or in the *Tubaqat* as a poet

5 Islam or by *in ilah*, as here Islam, otherwise Salim Shah Sur son and successor of Shir Shah Sur Vide vol 1 (trans Ranking), p 485 et passim

particularly the battle against Sikandar Sūr,¹ which contained an account of the valour of Muḥammad Ḥusain Khān.² He presented it to the Khān at Patyāli³, and the Khān made some corrections in it and told him the whole story of the fight in proper order, from beginning to end. Manzārī in one night, as it was the Khān's wish, corrected those three or four hundred couplets and read them at his *levée* the next morning, and received a notable reward. The following couplet occurs in that poem :—

“The sound of his trumpet deafened the sky.

The chief was perplexed by his sudden attack.”

The following opening couplet by him is very well known, and is often illuminated⁴ :—

“In thy absence I am always destitute,

I am one who never enters thy thoughts.”

The following *ghazal* is by him :—

“See the down growing on the moonlike cheek of that lovely silver-bodied one.

Both down and cheek are signs of the disturbances of the age of the moon.^b

See a chain of dark ambergris drawn across the face of the moon;

See a ringletlike violets on a cheek like a moist rose-petal;

See her heart-ravishing eyes and her lashes that shoot arrows,

See perils upon perils in the road of love.”

This last couplet is the best. As for the rest it is evident that he toiled hard at them to no purpose but to weary our ears.

¹ *Vide* vol. i (trans. Ranking), p. 542 *et passim*.

² *Vide* p. 6, note 4.

³ On the Ganges, in the estate of Muḥammad Ḥusain Khān.

⁴ *i.e.* illuminated on cardboard, as a wall decoration.

⁵ Each of the seven planets Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, the sun and the moon, as reckoned by the Musalmāns, was to have an age or cycle. These cycles have all been completed except the last, that of the moon, which began with the creation of Adam. It is the worst of all the cycles and has been and is to be a period of bloodshed and tumults.

This rhyming of *ma'rif* and *majhul* is very strange¹. The following ode, 'The Master of the House,' is by the above mentioned Muhammad Yusuf —

"Happy is he who has taken up his abode in the wine shop,
And is seated by the tun with a cup and a measure,
It is he who has given to the beloved her languishing
glances heavy with wine
I am drunk with the languishing glances of those two
narcissus like eyes
The owl found no well peopled spot in this transitory world
And hence chose for its dwelling the corner of a ruin
I said (to my love), 'Take up thy abode in my eyes,' but
she answered coquettishly
'Does anybody build a house in a channel through which
floods flow ?'
The comb has disordered thy locks,
May the hand of him who made that comb for thy locks
be broken !'

The following couplet is by him —

"In thy absence I attempted in vain to take rest,
Disappointed by thy absence I took such rest as I could "

CXXXIX MANZARI OF SAMARQAND²

He is a pleasing poet. He was at Agra in the service of Bairam Khan and designed an epic Book of Kings,³ and completed the versification of several of the incidents to be included in it, 341

¹ The rhyme to which Badaoni objects is that of عزیزان ('azizan) with ریزان ('rezan), which latter word was pronounced in his day, and, by natives of India, is still pronounced *rezan*. The *ma'ruf* sound is in the *majhul* e.' Although the Persians have long abandoned the *majhul* sounds and would now pronounce the latter word *rizzan* it is still considered inelegant, if not incorrect to rhyme a vocable which was always *ma'ruf* with one which was anciently *majhul*, though the rhyme is perfectly good, both to the ear and to the eye. This defect in rhyme is called حذف (hazv).

² Manzari is not mentioned in the *Āin* or in the *Tabaqat*.

³ شہنامہ (Shahnama), i.e. a poem on the model of Firdausi's great epic, the *Shahnamah*.

We dwell wherever grief and toil are heaviest,
 Our place is wherever affliction and anguish are greatest.
 Despite all the misery which we endure in our grief for her
 She who is anxious concerning our hereafter desires our
 death.

343 We wander in the desert of grief for her, and the only shade
 that we have
 Is that of our black lot which accompanies us in such days
 as these.
 Thou didst say to Muqīmī coquettishly, ‘I care for nobody.’
 Aye, aye ; with thy beauty how shouldst thou care for me ? ”

. CXLII. ——— 1

He was the son of Qāzī Abū-l-Ma‘ālī of the place of pilgrimage.²
 He was a melancholy youth who had adopted the *Sūfī* doctrine of
 annihilation³ and was after the fashion of his father. He died
 of haemorrhoids in Lāhor.

He composed an opening couplet in imitation of an opening
 couplet by Shaikh Sa‘dī (may his tomb be hallowed).

(Shaikh Sa‘dī’s couplet).

“ Infidels, what do you expect from a lifeless graven image ?
 Worship awhile that Idol which has life.”

(The poet’s couplet).

“ The dead are envious when thou stretchest out thy hand
 for thy sword
 Saying, ‘ Death by that sword is the privilege of him who
 is alive ! ’ ”

1 No name or takhallus is entered here, either in the MSS. or in the text.
 The passages which follow are printed in the text as a continuation of the
 life of Muqīmī, but they clearly refer to another poet, of whom I can unfor-
 tunately find no mention in any book to which I have access.

2 *Vide* p. 210. The ‘place of pilgrimage’ seems to have been Bukhārā,
 so called probably because it was the burial-place of Sayyid Jalāl, seventh
 descendant of Imām ‘Alī Naqī Alhādī.

3 *Vide* p. 42 and note 1.

CXL MUDAMÍ OF HAMADÁN¹

In Hindustan he was known as Hudamí, and he wrote good *qasidahs* in praise of Muī Muhammād, Khan-i-Kalan². His courtesy led him constantly into quarrels with everybody, and on this account he suffered much molestation.

The following verses are by him —

"Majūn did not know that a lover is disgraced in the world,
I am disgraced by love and devoted to being a lover"

"The new moon of 'Id appears like a key
To open the lock of the wine shop of the cupboard on the
evening of 'Id"

"The lovely one with the green veil³ has once more appeared
from behind the curtain,
The bud laughs like the dawn, and the sun appears"

"I have on my breast, from my beloved's sword,
Lines⁴ like those ruled on paper with a ruler"

CXLI MUQIMI OF SABZAVĀR⁵

He was in the service of the Khan-i-Azam.⁶ He had a jovial disposition. After the conquest of Gujarat he returned to his own country. The following verses are by him —

"Happy is he whom she rates as her dog!
Although I am not so rated she sometimes thinks on me"

"We are levers, and the end of the street of calamity is our
refuge,
The world is full of the turmoil and din of our shouts

¹ Mudamí is not mentioned as a poet in the *Ain* or in the *Tabaqat*.

² Elder brother of Ataga Khan vide p. 308, note 2.

³ The spring

⁴ Literally *alif*s

⁵ Muqimi is not mentioned as a poet in the *Ain* or in the *Tabaqat*.

⁶ Mirza Aziz Kuka Vide p. 388 and note 2.

CXLIV. MAZHARĪ OF KASHMIR.¹

He has composed a *dīvān*. He now holds a post in the imperial service in his own country. The quality of his poetry may be estimated from the following couplets, which are, however, a very small selection :—

“The good fortune of thy beauty has prospered thy affairs,
Else thou wouldest not have known how to manage affairs
successfully.”

There is also this opening couplet by a master of poetry (from which Mazhārī's couplet is evidently copied).

“Thou hast not understood what a firm covenant is,
Thou hast not understood what it is to be constant.”

(The following verses are by Mazhārī) :—

“May I be a sacrifice for that mirror which the enslaver of
my heart
Keeps in her room, turned towards the rose-walks of the
garden.”

“Mazhar, be in the world as those that have no share in it,
And as for the rose, be, like the nightingale, satisfied with
singing to it.

Satisfy thyself with the beauty of the world by looking on it,
Be, like the strangers, a guest who is content to gaze.”

345 CXLV. SHAIKH MUHAMMAD OF DIHLI.²

He was unique in this age for his high lineage and his acquired

¹ Mazhārī is thus described in the *Aīn* (i, 584), ‘He made poems from his early youth, and lived long in ‘Irāq. From living with good people he acquired excellent habits.’ Dāghistānī says that in ‘Irāq he was in company with Muḥtaṣam and Wahshī. After his return to India he was employed by Akbar as Mir Bahri of Kashmir, which was evidently the employment to which Badāoni refers. He had turned *Shi‘ah*, and, as his father was a *Sunnī*, they used to abuse each other. His poems are said to contain several satires on his father. Mazhārī died in A.H. 1018 (A.D. 1609-10). The poet cannot be the Mazhārī mentioned in vol. ii (text), p. 292, or Badāoni would have written more warmly of him here.

² I have not found elsewhere any mention of Shaikh Muḥammad of Dihlī.

CXLIII MAHWI¹

Shortly after his arrival in Hindustān he was in the service of the Khankhān, son of Buram Khān, and then went on a pilgrimage to the glorious city of Makkah. In the composition of quatrains he has no equal. The following quatrains are his —

" So long as the ringlet falls over the moonlike face
 Se long as the dawn on the cheek is as an army to the king
 of beauty
 Even if my house is built of bricks from the sun
 The days of me in my wretchedness will pass in black
 misery '

" Once I knew not sorrow of the soul and the heart,
 Once I knew not what it was to weep tears of fire,
 Now thou hast left neither name nor trace of me,
 O love! I did not know that thou wait thus '

344

Muhwi, who has wandered far from the street of wisdom,
 Has become a greater wanderer than a thousand Mughims
 I saw from afar that lost one, wandering far from thee,
 In a wilderness where the wind entered, into his blood "

1 The name of this poet was Mir Mughis. He is thus described in the *Tabaqat* "He is a free hearted and accomplished man. He arrived in Gujarat and entered the service of Mirza Khān the Khankhān, and, helped and encouraged by him set forth on a pilgrimage to the Hijaz". In the *Āīn* (1, 585) he is thus described "Muhwi of Hamadan. His name is Mughis. He tries to change the four mud walls of this worldly life into stone walls, and is intoxicated with the scent of freedom". According to the *Masāir-i-Rahim* he was born in Asadabad (Hamadan) and went when twelve years old, to Ardabil, where he studied for four years at the *Astāq-i-Safavīyya*. From youth he was remarkable for his contentment and piety. He spent twenty years at holy places chiefly at Najaf, Maslāhad Karbala and Hirat. He embarked at Bandar Jarun for India and after leaving the Khāikhān's service went back to Iraq where the author of the *Masāir* saw him at Kashan. He visited Najaf and Karbala and returned to Hamadan where he died in A.H. 1016 (A.D. 1607-08). It will be observed that the *Masāir* says nothing of his pilgrimage to Makkah. According to the *Ātashkāda-i-Āzār* he is often called Nishāpur, because he was long in that town.

The steed of perception cannot traverse the valley of thy understanding.

The noose of imagination cannot reach the battlements of the palace of thy glory.

I have a word to say : I will expound it unto the Nawwāb.
I have a difficulty : I will represent it to his servants.

346

Thou hast given the high post of accountant
To Kucik Beg. Say for what reason, O boast of mankind.
Thou art perhaps ignorant of his reprehensible acts,
Although inquiry into the characters of servants is a duty
incumbent on governors.

He was an infamous boy, and conceited, a wine-bibbing
libertine.

A lad ever hankering after gold, soft, and self-willed.

His business was the service¹ of Khwāja Amīr Beg the
Vazīr.

Factor to the family of His Highness Mirzā Bahrām.²

Other things are known about him from a certain source.
But I feel ashamed to reveal them before his honour the
Khān.

To cut a long story short and to make an end quickly I will
come to my tale.

And I will tell a tale regarding that mutilated³ wretch.

Wherever he has been his conduct has been such
That he has brought upon himself the hatred of all, both
gentle and simple.

and inherited accomplishments After many years of such acquaintance as can exist between men at a distance from one another, I was so fortunate as to have a chance meeting with him in the neighbourhood of the town of Bārī¹ in the year in which the victorious army set out for the conquest of the fortress of Citor, but owing to the shortness of the time at our disposal our interview and conversation, in spite of the great desire which I had to prolong them, did not last an hour, and he went on and I returned, but when I first set eyes on him I became aware of the nobility of his character Although, considering his dignity, this mention of him among a string of poets is scarcely gracious, yet, as he sometimes amused himself with poetry, this opening couplet is quoted as a memorial of him —

“ If, in the day of my grief for thee, I should choose to exercise patience,
Since I have no choice in the matter say what I should do ”

CXLVI NAVIDI OF TURBAT²

He composed a *dīdān*, and also a *tarjī' band*³ satirizing Kucik Beg, the recountant of Bairam Khān, the letters of which a hundred storms like that which occurred in the days of Noah would not wash from the pages of this age The following few couplets are by him⁴ —

“ O thou, in whose glorious days time glories,
Khan, son of a Khan, chief, and high officer of kings,
Bairsm¹ ”

¹ A pargana town in the sarkar and suba of Agra

² Navidi is not mentioned in the *Ām* and the only notice of him in the *Tabaqat* is that he was for a long time at court

³ A poem composed of strophes each consisting of any number of couplets from five to eleven The two hemistiches of the first couplet of each strophe rhyme together and the remaining couplets rhyme with the first At the end of each strophe is a refrain consisting of one couplet the two hemistiches of which rhyme together, and which is the same throughout the poem

⁴ These verses which follow are certainly a satire on Kucik Beg, but they do not seem to be from the *tarjī' band* mentioned, for they are not in the form of a *tarjī' band*

up the merriment of the entertainment, I have blindly and exactly copied the passage from the original ; and I hope that the clear-sighted men of this time will regard what they have seen as unseen and what I have done as though it had never been done, and will wink at my fault and my shame, and pass by it and pardon me, for ‘Satire in speech is as salt in food’ is a proposition accepted by all learned and well-informed men, and although some people, falsifying the text, read, instead of ‘Satire,’ ‘*Syntax*¹ in speech,’ the *Maqāmāt*² of Ḥarīrī clearly show that the first, and not the second, is the correct reading.

The following few verses are from Nuvidi’s *dīvān*, but I am not certain whether they are by this Nuvidi, or by another³ poet with the same poetical name :—

“I still have thy arrow, which I have had in my heart for an age,

I still have the plant of desire for thee which I received from thee ;

I still have the fetter which at the very first
I, poor and distraught,

Received from that Lailā-like beauty with the musky tresses.⁴

Though my eyes have become dim from weeping,
I retain the picture⁵ of thee

In that same form which has ever been reflected in the mirror of my heart.

Take my hand, love, for an age.

My foot has been held in the valley of love’s madness in the mire caused by my tears, as it was always held.

I, Nuvidi, still have that heart like a bird struck by the arrow of her glance

¹ By the substitution of ﻋَنْهِ (An-nahivu) for ﻋَنْهُ (al-hajwu) which is done by the alteration of one letter and the displacement of one dot.

² The ‘assemblies’ of Ḥarīrī, a very famous work in Arabic.

³ *Vide infra* Nos. CLII and CLVIII.

⁴ The text has ﺶَمَاءَلَ (shama’il) ‘qualities.’ I prefer ﻂَلَّ، which is the reading of both MSS.

⁵ Literally ‘idea.’

Oh on thy leprous body,¹ thus pray to God,
 Both morning and evening, all the inhabitants of the
 heavens,
 May there fall fever, colic, haemorrhoids, consumption, and
 dropsy,
 Measles, intestinal worm, epilepsy, and delirium
 Then when thou hastest weak and feeble, seeking a cure,
 May all the physicians prescribe for thee the following diet,
 Simiae vomitum, decem diernm catuli etercora, 347
 Uisi penem, felis cundam, et stercorea sicca quihue calefunt
 hypocausta
 Happy will that day be when thou art gripped by colic, for
 which
 The great physicians will prescribe an emetic,
 And the forefoot of an ass, the foot of a camel, the horn of
 a goat
 The scalp of a bear, the head of a mule, and the teeth of a
 hog ””

He could also be abusively satirical in prose as the following story will show One day when weary² he was seated on an old felt cushion and said to me before the court ‘Dog, dost thou eat filth before me ?’ I said, ‘Surely it is lawful for any³ dog to eat filth before you’ However, as Nuvidi had but one eye I have closed my eye to his baseness,⁴ and if I have recounted his faults it was only because the road was opened to me by the author of the original *Tazkirah*,⁴ Mir ‘Ala’u d danlah , and although the recording of obscene language and the reckoning up of faults is not the custom of the author of the Selection, yet in this instance, with the object of indulging the love of a jest and keeping

¹ ساده ل (sādah lā) The expression may possibly refer to the felt cushion, in which case it will mean, ‘cast off’

² ملک (malik) is in Persian an interrogative pronoun but here Badaoni clearly uses it as is sometimes done in India and always in Afghanistan, as an indefinite pronoun

³ In India a one-eyed man is supposed to be necessarily and unavoidably base, and therefore, as he cannot help himself, to be to some extent excused

⁴ Vida supra p 239 no 1

A couplet.

"Thou hast no thought for the next world, nor for this,
Nuvīdī, I know not how thou art employed."

CXLVII. NISHĀNĪ.¹

He is Maulānā 'Alī Aḥmad, the son of Maulānā Ḥusain Naqshī of Dihlī, the seal-cutter, who was a learned man, saintly in religion, and was the instructor of the eldest prince.² Both father and son attained the greatest proficiency in this art (of seal-cutting), but especially the Maulānā named above ('Alī Aḥmad) whose own engraved seal is the exemplar of the age. Coins of which the dies have been cut by him are taken as talismans and reliques to 'Irāq, Khurāsān and Transoxiana. He is endowed with the accomplishments of learning and with such perfections as a man can possess, but this lesser accomplishment and mercenary art (of seal-cutting) has obscured all his great natural gifts, and for this reason he has not received that training and that position
350 in military affairs and in the service of the state to which he is entitled. Had he attained the honourable rank which was his due he would have been in no way inferior to any of the more famous *Amīrs*.³ He is deeply read in astronomy and natural philosophy,

¹ Nishānī is not mentioned in the *Aīn* or in the *Tabaqāt* as a poet, but he is mentioned more than once in the *Aīn* as an engraver. Abū-l-Fażl says of him, 'at this day, Maulānā 'Alī Aḥmad of Dihlī, who has not his equal in any country, cuts different kinds of letters in steel in such a manner as equals the copy slips of the most skilful calligraphers. He holds the rank of commander of a hundred,' and again 'Maulānā 'Alī Aḥmad of Dihlī who, according to all calligraphers, stands unsurpassed as a steel engraver, so much so that his engravings are taken as copies. His *nasta'liq* is charming, but he writes also other characters well. He learned the trade from his father, Shaikh Ḥusain, studied the manner of Maulānā Maqṣūd, and eventually surpassed all.' *Vide Aīn-i-Akbarī*, i, 22, 53.

² Sultān Salīm, afterwards the emperor Jahāngīr. Ḥusain was probably his writing master.

³ The meaning of this sentence according to the tenses used by Badāoni is, 'Having attained an honourable rank he is in no way inferior to the famous *Amīrs*', but I believe that I have accurately rendered the meaning of Badāoni who has just been complaining that 'Alī Aḥmad did not receive the promotion which was his due.'

Which I had long ago, rolling in dust and blood like a bird half slain.

Another ode

" Longing for thy ringlet has made me restless,
 I am at death's deer O come to my help !
 I could endure thy cruelty all my life, but
 Thy sitting with a stranger I cannot endure
 I restrain myself from weeping at the end of thy street
 For I fear that the flood of my tears would sweep me away
 from the end of thy street
 Not for the twinkling of an eye does the restless longing
 for thy ringlet
 Permit me to sleep during the night of absence from thee
 Nuvidi, since my heart has become united ¹ with grief for
 thee,
 The confusion of all material things has left my remem-
 brance "

Another ode

" Though I die miserably from the ceaseless grief which is
 mine
 I will make to the stranger no complaint of my misery
 If in love's delirium I declared to thee
 The grief of my heart, pardon me, in thy mercy
 Nuvidi wished to declare the grief of his heart to thee, 349
 But when he saw thy face he forgot his grief "

Another ode

" Before thy arrow is drawn from my wounded heart
 My grief worn life will leave me a hundred times
 Thy heart piercing arrow has entered my wounded breast
 With ease, but will with difficulty be drawn thence
 To the end of her street I, helpless in my weakness
 Go a hundred times, hoping to see her come out but once
 O Nuvidi, from within thy patched woollen robe
 If thou art a Musalman why does the idolator's sacred
 thread appear ? "

¹ This word جم (jam') might also be translated "contented".

But, when sleep sees that my heart still wakes in its grief
for me, sleep quickly flees."

In imitation of this couplet I composed the following :—

" Fired by a hundred hopes I send a messenger to that cruel
one,

I flee to God for refuge from the hour in which he will
return from her without hope."

351 (The following couplet is Nishāni's) :—

" Since my bosom was wounded by the arrow of thy cruelty
I have not treated it with ointment, nor have I dressed the
wound."

At the time when Gujarāt was conquered he engraved a coin-
die for the emperor, and submitted it to him with the following
chronogram :—

" O king ! The coinage of Gujarāt is now struck in thy
name,

May the shadow of thy justice be over the head¹ of that
country.

Happy will be that moment when thou wilt ask of me the
date (of its conquest)

And I shall reply, ' May the coinage of Gujarāt be auspi-
cious ! ' "²

The following couplets are also by him :—

" It is a matter of life and death with me, and the beloved
has not come.

My life, which is valuable to me, has become of no account."

" I have a wounded heart and the lovely ones bear salt (wit)
on their lips ;

This wound of mine will not be healed till eternity."

¹ MS. (A) has تبارک (tabāruk) which neither rhymes nor makes good sense.
MS. (B) has تباراک (tabārāk) which is nonsense and neither scans nor
rhymes. I have adopted بیتارک (bi-tārak), the reading of the text.

² سکھ گجرات مبارک بادا. The sum of the values of the letters is 880.
Gujarāt was formally annexed on Sha'bān 14, A.H. 980 (Dec. 20, 1572); *vide*
vol. ii (text), p. 142.

is an ardent seeker after knowledge, and is marvellously proficient in all scripts, and in prose composition and orthography he is unrivalled.

Had he been a man of one pursuit many examples of his flowing verse would have been left on the page of time. He sometimes exercises his brilliant intellect and keen perception in the composition of verse, and has chosen a poetical name in consonance with his occupation. Since from the early days of my youth to the time of writing this selection, which is the period of my middle age,¹ or rather of my old age, I have been bound to him, to a greater degree than can be imagined, by the bonds of intimacy, confidence, friendship, and companionship, it is not unfitting that I should quote with appreciation, and at some length,² some of his profitable pieces of verse and prose. The following couplets are from his poems —

“Until the dawn grew above thy life-giving lip

Masih alone was there. Now that it has grown Khizri is in company with Masih.”³

“The censor yesterday broke the wine jar, and poured forth the fiery water which it contained

He gave my dust to the wind, and poured my blood on the dust.”

“The wind brought news to my sad heart of my beloved
Alas, no trust can be placed in the word of the wind.”

“Sleep comes on me each night like a robber, my eyes become moist.

¹ كھولات (kuhulat) literally ‘laziness,’ ‘love of ease’

² I am not quite sure of the correctness of this translation. The two words used are اسپاھ (asbagh) and اشپاھ (ashbagh). The latter, which is an Arabic verbal noun in the measure فعال (fā'il), means ‘satiating,’ ‘filling up,’ ‘dyeing.’ I think that Badoni means by it that he proposes to quote at length:

³ The special characteristic of our Lord, according to Muhammadan belief, has already been mentioned, *vide supra*, p 224, note 2. The meaning of this couplet is that the lip merely gave life until the dawn grew above it, after which it gave perpetual life.

Owing to thy absence the blood lodged in my heart, every moment.

Rises to my neck like liquid in a bottle;
Every breath burns with the fire of grief
And at each respiration throws forth from my bosom a flaming banner.

Now my eyes contend with the blood of my heart
And shed, instead of tears, sparks of fire.

These are not eyelashes that encircle my eyes,
They are the soot of my heart's fire around its chimney.
O thou of angelic disposition, from this sad journey
Which has carried the lives of my dear friends away on the breeze

Such languor has become the lot of my body and my heart
That I pay no heed to my body or my heart.

My body is disturbed by the pains of fever,
My heart within it is like fire in a furnace."

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In reply to that boastful poem¹ of Shaikh Faizi's, which begins:—

"Thanks be to God that the love of beautiful ones is my guide.

I am of the religion of Brahmans and of the faith of the fire-worshippers."

He wrote a *qasidah*, from which the following couplets are excerpted:—

"Thanks be to God that I am a follower of the faith of the prophet,

The love of the prophet and of the race of the prophet is my guide.

I am disgusted with Brahmans, prayer-gongs, and Ahri-man,²

I am a denier of the faith of monk, priest, and fire-angel,³

¹ *Vide* p. 417.

² The Principle of Evil.

³ Azar (عَزَّار), the angel who presides over fire.

"Outward form and inward truth are not united in every king,
Akbar the emperor is the king both of outward form and
inward truth

He is the emperor at whose court, when he holds it,
King after king falls down in fear before the doorkeeper's
staff" —————

"The heart in my bosom is not broken by the stone of calamities

For the glass of my (heart) is made of a diamond"

When the imperial camp was en its way to Kashmīr for the first time¹ and I, having taken leave, went to Basawar,² my birthplace, Nishāni wrote the following verses, and sent them to me from that country (Kashmīr) God knows whether he wrote (the same verses) with the same warmth of feeling to several others, and pleased them also, but until another claimant appears I have made the verses my own

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A Masnavi

"Whilst thou art far from me, O moon that illuminest my heart,
I sleep not at night and have no ease during the day,
My tears, rose red with blood, trickle adown my cheek
Like tulips blooming in a field of saffron,
My eyelashes are tinged with the blood of my heart
Like branches of red coral shewing their heads above the ocean

¹ This was, apparently, the occasion on which Badaoni in 1577 left the court at Hēwāri having received five months leave of absence He overstayed his leave by seven months and was never again received into favour ² *Vide* vol. II, text, p. 252

² The text has 'Peshawar' which was certainly not Badaoni's birthplace The correct reading is 'Basawar' According to Mr. Blochmann (*Ain-i-Akbari*, I, 104, note 2) Badaoni was born at Badaon, but this is a mistake He was born in Toda but was taken soon after his birth to Basawar, where he was circumcised (*vide* vol. II, text 236), and of which he always speaks as his birthplace

I, like the serpent of the Speaker,¹ will overpower him in a minute."

He wrote the following couplet in praise of the prophet :—

"The seal of thy finality has broken the seals of old
And has introduced in its device a new and fresh design."

The following verses are selected from one of his poems concerning one of the great ones among those of our kind, ingenious in oppression² :—

"How long wilt thou boast saying, 'In magic
I am a Sāmīrī, a Sāmīrī, a Sāmīrī'?³
Every breath of mine is one of the miracles of 'Īsā,
A flame of light from the bush of Moses.⁴
In eloquence I am the phoenix of the age,
The teacher of all the eloquent.
Each breath of mine deprives magic itself of patience (in
enduring its inferiority).

Each speech of mine is magic that would deceive angels.
I am the king of the kingdom of omniscience,
I am the wise man of the region of sublime realities ;
I am the jeweller who values the chain of rhetoric,
I am the assayer of the coin of eloquence.
All this am I. To-day, in this contest,
Thou dost but take a flame of fire on thy tongue.
Boast not that thou art the discoverer of spiritual truths,
Thou art no candle, let not the machinery of thy tongue be
too well greased.
O thou who art formed of flame, of jewels of fine water,

¹ كَلِيم (Kalīm) for كَلِيمُ اللَّهِ (Kalīmu-'llāh) 'the speaker with God,' i.e. Moses. The reference is of course to Aaron's rod, Ex. vii, 9. 10. In the Qur'ān the rod is said to be that of Moses، فَلَقَى عَصَمَةً فَنَادَاهُ هِيَ تُعْبَانٌ مُبِينٌ، wherefore he (Moses) cast down his rod, and behold, it became a visible serpent.' Qur'ān c. vii.

² Shaikh Faizī.

³ A hemistich from one of Faizī's poems.

⁴ The reference is, of course, to the burning bush, Exodus iii, Qur'ān, xxvii. 7-13.

I believe in the day of resurrection, and in the resurrection
of the dead,

I am hopeful of Paradise, of *Hūnus*, and of *Kauçar*.¹

O envious one, glance not towards me with contempt

Although in outward semblance I may appear contemptible.

I am a fierce flame, pass not near me²

Since thou art not the Friend³ set not thy foot on my fire.

Under my seal is the face of the whole earth

I in this age am like the seal with my head hidden within
the collar of my robe⁴

From east to west I am tempered with perfection,

From polo to pole I am the axis of 'every country'

The convex surface of the sky of excellence, even in the
eyes of my enemy,⁵

Will never fit the concave surface which is bounded by my
ego

Though I dwell on the earth like an imaginary point

I am still the centre round which the spherical sky
revolves

The hand of fate has drawn, with the compass of time,

The circles of the seven heavens around my book

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Although I am less than the fixed point which is the
centre .

I am nevertheless more boundless than the circumference

If my enemy performs a thousand of the magical tricks of
Sāmīri⁶

¹ A river in Paradise whence all the other rivers derive their source

² This hemistich and the one which precedes it have been carelessly omitted from the text. I have supplied them from the MSS.

³ Abraham, 'the Friend of God'

⁴ i.e. as a seal has its head hidden in the wax when it is pressed on it

⁵ The 'enemy' is Shaikh Fairūz. I have been unable to translate literally this hemistich and the one which follows it, as a literal translation would not give the sense, which is that the poet's intellect is more spacious than the sky

⁶ A great magician, the maker, according to the Muslims, of the golden calf which the Israelites worshipped. Vide *Qur'an* c. xx

The cypress whose head brushes the sky,
 Is void of all flavour of fruit.
 Why all this vaunting of thine own eloquence ?
 Why all this ridicule of a heart-broken one like me ?
 If I from shame open not my mouth
 Do not attribute my silence to folly.
 My breast does not contain a stone as does a ripe date,
 I am like the oyster-shell, full of pearls, but close my
 lips.
 If I release my tongue from its bonds
 The eloquent will refrain from opening their lips.
 Do not cast gibes at me as Satan did at Adam.
 Consider my state and refrain from speech.
 I am a Sāmirī, and can, by the power of my spells
 And magical power, bring into existence a puppet form.
 I can throw Venus and the moon into turmoil,
 I can throw Hārūt's¹ magic scroll into his well.
 I am all this,—a magician who is magic's self,
 From whose words magic has been spread abroad.
 I, who am famous for my words of magic,
 Am myself the sky, the moon, and Venus.
 Sāmiris are in every curl of my hair,
 Babylons are in the well of my magic.

¹ Hārūt and Mārūt were two angels who, having expressed their surprise at the wickedness of men, were sent down to Bābil (Babylon) to be subjected to the temptations to which men were exposed. There they learnt the magic of the Babylonians. Zuhrah (the planet Venus), or, according to others, a beautiful female of human kind, appeared before them with a complaint against her husband. Both fell in love with her and attempted to persuade her to admit them to her embraces. She flew up to heaven, and the angels followed her, but were not admitted. On the intercession of a pious man they were permitted to choose whether they would expiate their sin in time or in eternity. They chose the former, and are suspended, head downwards, in a well near Babylon until the day of judgment. If a man desires to learn magic he may go to them and hear their voices, though he cannot see them. This explains the reference to Venus. Nishānī means to say that he is so accomplished as a magician that he has nothing to learn from Hārūt, and could afford to throw the angel's magic scroll back to him in his well.

Make no boast since thou hast not even dust in thy pouch
 Although thy mind has knocked at the door of sense
 No new conceit has fallen on our ears
 That which thou sayest has been said by others,
 The pearls which thou stringest have been strung by others
 For the house of verse which thou hast adorned
 Thou hast borrowed both the water and the clay from
 others

The painted ceiling which is in this house 355
 Has its colours from a stranger's pencil
 Thy wit is like that of a gardener
 Who lays out his garden with plants taken from others
 The verdure in that garden is from another lawn,
 Each beautiful flower that blooms there is from another
 garden
 Each bud of it, though it be life-cherishing
 Is sprung from the heart's blood of another than thee
 The unfruitful willow which bears its head
 Has drawn its leaves from that seed already decorated with
 designs of trees¹
 Its freshness is from no rain which thou hast bestowed on
 it,
 But is from the sweat of the brow of thy friends
 How long wilt thou burn with desire for the money of
 others?
 How long wilt thou glue thy eyes to the property of
 others?
 Collect not the cash of those who foster eloquence,
 Fill not thy pouch with the gold of others
 Turn thy thoughts from the drink of others,
 Drink water from thine own fountain
 If thou be Khizr, where is thy water of life?
 If thou be sugarcane, where is thy sweet branch?
 Like a date palm thou raisest thy head to the sky
 But thou givest no fruit but dry date stones

¹ i.e. Faizi merely sowed the seed which had been raised by others

of whose mind is the astrolabe of the astronomers of the Path,
I humbly represent to those who are admitted to his heavenly
assembly, that gathering where angels sit, swearing by God and
 357 by the honour of God (He is blessed and exalted !), that by the
blessing of the consideration which has been bestowed by that
incomparable and unequalled Being on the leisure time of this
humble one, by asking him to collect his scattered scribblings, I
desire to give a hundred praises for the favour which he has shown
to me. I am writing for his servants two fragments, one of prose
composition, and the other of *māsnāvis*, *et caetera*, and have half
finished the work. Please God, I shall pack them up and despatch
them to-morrow or the day after. For the present I have sent
several couplets from that *māsnāvī* in the opening couplet of
which the hemistich, 'I am a Sāmirī, a Sāmirī, a Sāmirī,'¹ occurs.
Pray be pleased to correct it and to set aside what may be fit for
reproduction. May you remain in health."

Among his letters was the following regarding the emperor's seal with its die containing the names of his majesty's great ancestors as far as the lord of the (fortunate) conjunction (Timūr), which he wrote and sent to me.²

"O outstripper of the swift runners of the subtleties of sciences in difficulties arising in the assemblies of the noble and the learned, shooter of the arrows of boundless knowledge from the bows of perfections against the globes of the hearts of high and low, striker of the disavowing ordinances with the swords of brilliant proofs, and opener of the doors of the obscurities of truths with the keys of convincing arguments ; how art thou in this age, on every day of which people of penetration have known the signification of 'on that day shall a man fly from his brother and his mother and his father ? '³ Verily the object of the gaze of the aspirations

third letter to Badāoni, *vide infra*, 492. All the complimentary epithets and similes in this letter are applied to Badāoni. They are even more fulsome than is usual in Indian letters.

¹ *Vide supra* p. 486.

² The following letter is in Arabic.

³ *Qur'ān* lxxx, 34, 35. يوم يُقْرَأُ الْكِتَابُ مِنْ أَخِيهِ وَأَمْهَ وَإِيَّاهُ

The wealth which springs from this work is mine, to my heart's desire,
 The coin of this kingdom is struck in my name.
 Learn from my speech the beauties of style.
 Have no false shame lay hold of a master's skirt
 He who comes as a true disciple to his master
 Gathers in both worlds the treasure of happiness
 Not one line of thy verse is correct
 Thy verses are the laughing-stock of the eloquent
 Although nobody has told thee this to thy face
 And nobody takes up thy faults before thee,
 Yet thy detractors, in thy absence,
 Delight the meetings of eloquent men,
 When thy verses are quoted among them
 They pick out thy errors one by one
 They praise thy poetry to thy face
 And curse and abuse thee behind thy back
 Thou art a friend of none and hast none for thy friend
 Thou hast, alas, no bosom friend to sympathize with thee,
 To show thee what thy faults are
 Or what it is (in thy verse) that thy auditors criticize"

When I was writing this memoir and asked Nishāni for some of his verses as a memorial of him he wrote me the following letter —

"Having made the jewels of the mines of holy poverty and humility and the gems of the oceans of despondency and restlessness, which the jewellers of the workshop of yearning and the ocean ranges of the handwriting of taste have washed with the limpid water of sincerity and threaded on the string of supplication, a sacrifice to the joy giving footsteps of that incomparable one of this age, that miracle of the mercy of Providence, whose heart, with its knowledge of hidden mysteries, is as a world-displaying cup¹ to prudent searchers after truth, and the mirror

¹ The reference is to the cup of Jamshid which, according to Eastern fabulists, represented the whole world. In MS (A) this passage referring to Badaoni's qualities of heart and head is reproduced again in Nishāni's

Why should I complain of the power¹ of the spells of this old enchanter² sitting on a throne, wearing a patched robe, and dwelling in a lofty temple, who has, by the power of his magical incantations, brought the whole universe, from the fish³ to the moon, into his blue glass bottle, and, having closed the mouth of that bottle with wax from the candle of the moon, has sealed it with so many thousand seals that the foot of flight has no power to step from within it, and there is no hope of the hand of any helper from without reaching those within?

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I have uttered many cries but no one comes to my assistance.

It is as though there were nobody in this turquoise vault.⁴

Perforce, therefore, I remain in the bonds forged for me from eternity, and place my head on the threshold of discipleship. And, since the country and the king are alike in this condition in relation to fate, it is evident that mankind in general, much less a solitary individual, can have but little power to move hand or foot in those bonds, or release himself from durance in its prison; unless it be a perfect religious leader and perfected guide, aided in various ways and by different means by divine guidance and divine inspiration. Such a man might, striving with the strength of divine assistance, and the aid of boundless struggles and ecstacies, free himself from this most dangerous of places, this most difficult of situations. But, in truth, in these days there is, save that incomparable one of the age, whose nature is endowed with auspicious attributes, angelic qualities, and holy signs of God's handiwork, who is a revelation of the marks of the mercy of Providence (His power is honoured), no perfect knower of God illuminated and adorued by the qualities described above.⁵

¹ I believe the text to be corrupt here. It runs **خواهش نیام از دست شیون** بیرنجات, literally 'why should I complain of the hand of the lamentation of the spells, etc.' My translation is conjectural.

² Fate.

³ The fish on which, according to Eastern fabulists, the world rests.

⁴ The sky.

⁵ MS. (A) here inserts the passage mentioned on p. 490 note.

lies his claim. He is now in the service of the youngest prince.¹
362 The following verses are by him:—

“I am Nau’i the wine-bibber, and after my death
My blisters will fester like the sun.”

“Nau’i’s sorrow arises not from pain and grief
But from the exiguity of his stomach.”

“Again has my desire taken the road,
That road in which even Khiṣr fears to walk,
The flowers of the plains about it are thorns of eyelashes
The stones in that road are the skulls of men.”

CLIII. NIYĀZI.²

He was a native of the pleasant city of Najār, but he comes of a base stock. He was quarrelsome and impudent, and confirmed by his behaviour the general belief regarding the character of poets. He was well skilled in the arts of poetry and prosody, in the composition of enigmas, in history and all other minor branches of knowledge, and has written treatises on these subjects. On the first occasion on which he paid his respects at court to the late emperor he stepped towards him at the levée with his left foot. As his late majesty was very punctilious in such details of etiquette he said, ‘The Mullā is left-handed,’³ and commanded him

soon afterwards entered the service of the Khānkhānān, and stayed with him and prince Dāniyāl at Burhānpūr. For his Sūqīrāma the Khānkhānān gave him an elephant and a present of ten thousand rupees. He also composed several odes in praise of the prince. The Khiżāna-yi-Āmira says that his *māsnāvī* entitled *Sūz-u-Gudāz* is quite sufficient to establish his fame as a great poet. Nau’i had not arranged his *gāṣīdahs* and *ghzals* in the form of a *dīvān* when he died at Burhānpūr in A.H. 1019 (A.D. 1610).

¹ Sultān Dāniyāl.

² Niyāzī is thus described in the *Tabaqāt*, ‘Mullā Niyāzī of Samarcand spent some time in the service of the emperor Humāyūn, and then entered the service of the Khalīṣah of God (Ākbar). He spent most of his life in Thatha. He was well-acquainted with the art of poetry, and wrote books on most arts.’

³ The text has جپ دست اسست جپ دست اسست میں. The

I hope that your holiness will, by your exalted regard, free this hopeless prisoner in the bonds of the body and of outward forms who is a unit not beyond the pale of human kind, from all bonds contrary to the laws of the prophet and intrusive upon the faith of the chosen one (on him be the most excellent of benedictions and the most perfect of blessings) and that you will sometimes when you have leisure to think thereon call him to mind in prayer for his attainment of his outward and inward desires for his happiness both in things seen and things unseen and for the accomplishment of his objects both in matters pertaining to the world and in matters pertaining to God for there can be for him no other means but this of striving at God and at the firm rope of the manifest religion He hopes that God (He is praised and exalted) will of His favour and perfect clemency, protect 360 and guard your holiness, with your dear sons and your honoured friends from all the snares of the world and misfortunes of the age, and will preserve you over those who love you truly and those who follow you sincerely'

CXLVIII نسیہ^۲

He was that Jimal Khan son of Shâh Mangîn of Badaon, who has already been mentioned He was a young man of perfect orthodoxy and well known for the beauty of his form and his disposition It may be said that love for him was the cause of the author's settling in Badaon Had he not been transitory as to those he would have left behind him many examples of his poetry, but death gave him not the opportunity of leaving accomplishments

The following verses are his —

Hear this well weighty saying from one who was nurtured on love

'He who dies of love is better than he who lives without love

^۱ علی according to both MSS The text is علی which does not accord so well with the context

^۲ Vide sup a, p note

on the page at which it opened this opening couplet was written :

“ Regard the sky as a cup which is upside down, empty of the wine of delight

To look for wine from a cup which is upside down is the mark of a fool.”

Niyāzī olim Fusunium poetam in somnio vidit et putavit se in barbā ejus minxisse. Poeta quidam hos versiculos recitavit,

“ Niyāzī Fusunium in somnio vidit.

Et barbam ejus aquā ex amphorā aspersit.

Si autem minxit Fusunio opprobrio ne tribuatis,

Canis, si minxit in rubo, minxit.”

364 The following verses are by Niyāzī :—

“ O silver-bodied one, thy locks curl over thy flaming cheek,

For when a hair falls on the fire it twists and curls.”

“ Since I cannot go round the head of that tyrannical beauty,
I bring her image to my sight and ever go round about it.”

“ It is not from the breeze that her shift is in motion,

The grace of her body has given life to the shift.”

He died in Thatha.

CLIV. NĀMĪ.¹

This is the poetical name of Mīr Muḥammad Ma'sūm Ṣafavī, the orthodox and noble son of Mīr Sayyid Ṣafā'i, who was one of the great Sayyids and respected elders of the city of Bhakkar.

¹ Mīr Muḥammad Ma'sūm is mentioned in the *Tabaqāt* as a pious young man and a friend of the author's. He belonged to a family of Tirmizi Sayyids who, two or three generations before his time had left Tirmiz in Bukhārā and settled in Qandahār, where his ancestors were trustees of the shrine of Bābā Shīr Qalandar. His father settled in Bhakkar and received favours from Sultān Maḥmūd. After the death of his father poverty compelled Mīr Muḥammad Ma'sūm to leave Bhakkar and he went to Gujarāt where he was introduced to Khwāja Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad, author of the *Tabaqāt*, then *dīvān* of Gujarāt. He was also introduced to Shihāb Khān, governor of Gujarāt, and was recommended to Akbar for a *mānsab*. He served in Gujarāt in

to be led out and again brought forward After the command had been given for him to be seated he began to talk lewdly, obscenely, and foolishly, and fell into an argument with Mulla Bikāsi¹ To Mu 'Abdu-l-Hayy the *Sadr*,² who took the part of the *Mullā* he 363 said, 'What shall I do? I am friendless The face of a friendless man is blackened',³ and when *Khwāja* Husain of Marv,⁴ on whom rested some slight suspicion of infamy, supported the other two he said, '*Khwāja*, what occasion was there for your assistance?'⁵ His late majesty, much vexed and annoyed by this churlish behaviour, rose and left the *darbar*, but, in spite of his annoyance so great was his clemency that he would not consent to Niyāzi's being injured or harassed in return for his evil and beastly conduct The reason for Niyāzi being turned out of Transoxiana was in ode which he wrote, of which the closing verses run as follows —

" That is not the crepuscule that appears in the sky , it is my
rosy coloured wine

I am a debauchee swilling the lees, and the goblet of the
sky is my cup

Since Niyāzi has become the king of the age in the king
dom of eloquence

The name of Jāmi has been obliterated, and that of Niyāzi
is in its place "

It is said that he was one day reciting this ode of his in a ga
thering at Thatha and there happened to be there a copy of the
divan of his holiness the Maulavi.⁶ It was opened at random and

latter is correct Niyāzi seems to have committed a serious breach of court
etiquette

¹ Vide p. 268 ² Vide p. 378.

³ دیکسی (dīkṣī) means 'friendless' and دیکسی (dīkṣī) 'friendlessness'
or 'a friendless man' The last sentence of this speech might be translated.
'The face of Bikāsi is blackened,' and it was this that Niyāzi intended to
convey

⁴ Vide p. 248

⁵ This speech suggests a most obscene double entendre, having reference to
Khwāja Husain's reputation It may be translated, 'Lunache, quae occasio
est praebendi teipsam implexibus eorum'

⁶ i.e. Jāmi

" I am not grieved that my affairs have not turned out well
 but have turned out ill,
 ' It will be, it will be ' never comes to pass. Say
 ' Be not,' and see what comes to pass."

No other religious director could possibly have given me better direction than this. My second director was Mir Abū-l-Ghais of Bukhārā,¹ who in rank and dignity was many degrees greater than I, for until the time when I made his acquaintance, if my horses missed their corn and grass for one day I would be so vexed and angry that I would turn my head away from everybody, and not speak a word to any one; but after I fell into the company of the Mir I observed that sometimes, for three or four consecutive days, there was neither corn nor grass in his stables, nor the smoke of any fire in his kitchen, and in spite of this state of things, he was so cheerful, merry, and jovial that no suggestion of his indigence and actual want was conveyed to anybody, and nobody was in a position to talk about his affairs. Wealth and want were always alike to him.

Take refuge from the shocks of fate among those *Sūfīs*
 Who grieve for existence and rejoice at non-existence.

366 I then began to console myself by the thought that if times were so hard with this great man and yet made no difference to him. I had a much better reason for being cheerful and happy, seeing that I had not a hundredth part of his state and pomp to keep up. My third director is a slave-girl bestowed upon me by the emperor. Quum enim, instantibus vel diaboli insidiis vel desideriis naturalibus, me sentio, sive oculorum micantium sive libidinis indulgentiae causâ, ad stuprum tractum, statim domum reversus cum eâ rem habeo, unde quiescit cor meum ; et, corpore aquâ loto, mundus fio. And a director has no greater duty than that of restraining a person from unseemly and unbecoming acts.

The Mir is a most diligent student and has correct taste in poetry and in the composition of enigmas. He is high-minded and sublime in disposition. He has composed a *līvān*, and a *maṣnavī*² in the metre of the *Yūsuf-u-Zulaikhā* (of Nizānī).

¹ *Vide* page 183.

² This was the *Husn-u-Nāz*.

Mu^m Mu^{hammad} Ma^ṣum is at present enrolled among the *amirs* of the empire, and holds some appointment in the imperial service in Sind and Qandahār. He is very strict in religion, in piety, praise and prayer, and in reading the *Qur'an*, and somebody once said to him, 'One cannot do without a director in these duties. You should get a director and receive instruction from him, and you can then take your leave of him.' Nāmī replied, 'I have at present two or three directors, what need have I of another?' My first director was his majesty, for this reason, that when I came¹ from my dear native land to the capital I was so filled with the pride and aspirations of youth, which are the sources of extravagant hopes and desires, that I could not bring myself to consider the acceptance of anything so humble as a commanderyship of a thousand, or even of two thousand. When I arrived at court I tasted the sticks of the ushers and male-bearers who 365 keep order, and had to endure insults, and when after a long period of expectation, his majesty honoured me by bestowing on me a command of twenty men all my extravagant claims took wings to themselves, and I, recognizing my proper rank and place, resigned myself to God's will, and bowed my head in acquiescence, and was at peace, and there is that proverb, "Although I struggled much to become somebody I became nothing, now I let myself alone in order that I may become whatever I am to become."

A.D. 1584, and was present at the fight of Māssan, and in the final expedition against Mayaffar in Kacch. In the fortieth year he was a commander of two hundred and fifty. Akbar became very fond of him and sent him in 1602 as ambassador to Persia, where he was well received by Shāh 'Abbas. On his return from Persia in 1606 Jahangir sent him as amīn to Bhakkar, where he died. It is said that he reached under Akbar the command of a thousand. He was skilled as a composer and tracer of inscriptions. He was best known as a poet and historian. He composed a *dīstān*, a *māṣnāt* entitled *Mu'danū l-afkar* in the metre of Nūmī's *Makhzan al-asar*, the *Tanqīb-i-Sind*, dedicated to his son, and a short medical work called *Musfridat-i-maṣnūt*. The Rīyāz-nāsh *Shu'ara* and Taqī's *Izukturāh* say that he composed a *Khamārah*, viz.—the *māṣnāt* already mentioned, the *Husn u-Naz* corresponding to Nūmī's *Yasuj u-Zulaykhā*, the *Parī fūrat* to the *Laila-u-mojnūn*, and two others in imitation of the *Haft Paikar* and *Sikandarnama*.

¹ The words from "my first" to "I came" have been most carelessly omitted from the text, though they are in both MSS., and the whole passage is nonsense without them.

Until at length I have become, through thee, a byword for
madness.

I have poured from my heart so much hot blood that it has
cast

All my life, entirely, and utterly, into a fiery slough.

My love for thee has thrown a thousand knotty difficulties in
my path

But has not yet solved even one of the difficulties caused by
thy absence.

On the one hand the fear of death offers the intoxication of
absence from thee.

On the other the delight of reunion with thee offers me the
fruition of all my hopes.

Though the dead have not risen the tumult of the resurrec-
tion has arisen.

From the fire which has flamed up from my heart.¹

The eyes of a whole world are suffused with blood by that
eyelash of thine.

A whole people is sleeping in dust by reason of that collyrium-
tinged eye of thine.

In both worlds have I lighted the fire of madness.

368

But I have not given in my ode a hint of the secrets of thy
love.

That heart which I had, steeped in the love of thee
Is melted into blood and poured out on my body.

From my grief in thy absence I have at the end of each eye-
lash a cloud which rains sparks.

I have in my breast a hundred heaps of fire which burn in
thy absence.

The eyes of the age have no employment but to gaze upon thee
The eyes of principalities and powers are smitten with love
in thy service.

I desire to be released from the hell of separation from thee
By him who wipes out infidelity, who protects the faith, and
who guides peoples in the right way.

¹ Literally, 'liver.'

The following few couplets are productions of his brilliant imagination —

"How sweet it is to think that when I am beside myself with
love thou wilt come to ask my condition
And I shall explain it at length to thee in the speech in which
no tongue has part"

When she saw my tears who concealed her smile
It is clear that my tears are not without their effect'

' In love there is an intoxication which revives tired lovers
In absence there is a subtle delight which even union lacks "

"My moon like beauty gave her message to the messenger
with a laugh

The trace of that laugh still lingers in the message which she
sent "

He sent the following *qasidah* in praise of the prophet from
Ahmadahād to me in Atak —

"The scar of love which has been on my heart from eternity
Has been changed, by the blessings which even thy absence 367
can bestow, to naught but pain

The flood of fire which my heart in its pain heaved up
Has thrown confusion into the temperament of the earth and
the age

The remembrance of my grief for thee gives me a taste of
sweet sorrow

The flavour of thy absence from me gives me an idea of the
sweet savour of death

Happy is he who has set his foot in the path of love
For he enjoys delights without sight, and a love without arts
If thou find thy way to the Laboratory of Creation thou shalt
see

Both creation in action and love transformed to deeds
My disquiet has drawn me from love to madness,

If thy auspicious glance should fall by chance on an onion.
The world beside it appears less than an onion.

In this thy age thy *Zū-l-faqār*¹ explains to thy enemy and
thy 'Yea, verily' to thy petitioner the meaning of 'Nay'
and 'Yea.'

If through thy mind there pass but the semblance of wrath.
Death trembles like a willow from fear.

The sky of thy might has such width that the sun
Would not wonder could be find shelter behind it as behind
a lofty mountain.

If thy dagger lend its tongue to the sword of discipline
Woe be to the sky with its crooked dealings, its fraud and
its many deceits.

Since eloquence is decked as a bride for thy praise,
I have decked her with striped garments of flowery speech.
Woe to thee Nāmī, and woe to those who shall arise with thee,
When the black book of your acts is opened before you at
the resurrection !

I am hopeful of obtaining a mediator like the sun
On that day on which there shall no longer remain any
shadow of hope,
Him who is the rain from the cloud of God's mercy, the cup-
bearer of the Day of Resurrection.
The greatest protection of the faith, and the lord even of
death."

Quatrains.

" One should sit alone with one's self in the assembly,
One should commune ever with one's self,
One should be both the nightingale and the rose of the
meadow.²
One should be distraught with one's own affairs "

¹ The sword of 'Alī.

² i.e. 'One should be both the nightingale which sings to the rose and the rose which listens to the song.'

The king of Najaf, 'Ali, the saint, the king who passes not away¹

He it is whom the cish of all the prophets has gained for the world

He is the moon from whom the sun receives his light,

He is a lion beneath whose feet the lion of the heavens lies in the mire

His protection has thrown up a fortress around the people of the world

From which, except by death and by the gate of death, no one can pass

If the arm of the sky should feel, even in a dream, the strength of thy grasp², it would pluck from its joint³ its withered hand

When thy majestic shont reaches a mountain range

It reverberates, cooling like a whip lash about the mountain masses

If one dot of the *qāf*⁴ of thy power could be weighed against *Qāf* (Caucasus)

The dot would take the place of *Qaf* and the scale of *Qaf* would fly up as high as Saturn

If thy hand should check the reins of eternity without end

It would fall a thousand stages behind eternity without beginning.

The tree of the sky is but one leaf from the garden of thy power

The garden of the world is but half a mound from the cultivated area of thy munificence

Thy age has so sweetened the disposition of the world

That it is no longer possible to distinguish between poison and honey

¹ The text has عَنْتَ I believe عننتَ or عننتِ to be the correct reading

² Literally 'root'

³ The word جَذْع (power') begins with the letter قَاف (qāf) which has two dots. The poet means to say that one dot from one of the letters of the word denoting Ali's power would far outweigh Mount Caucasus.

I weep seas upon seas and worlds upon worlds of blood,
 I blossom with gardens upon gardens and meadows upon
 meadows of roses."

372 "On the day on which I arise, crying out for grief at her absence

The hand of my heart is twisted in the skirt of separation.
 With those tears which are mingled with my heart's blood.
 I shed on my skirt the blood of two thousand hearts."

"In the ocean of my heart a sea of blood is in turmoil,
 A hundred hells of pain are burning within me.
 I shall strike fire into the structure of the world
 From this madness which burns within me."

"Seek not a sweetheart lest thy whole heart turn to blood,
 Lest thou be not hers until thou art completely changed.
 Lest thou become distracted, arranged, and mad,
 Lest thou depart completely from the fashion of the age."

"Although the seekers after His beauty are many
 Not every eye is worthy to catch a glimpse of the Face of the Friend;
 Not all idolatry is worthy of the sacred thread,
 Nor is every head worthy of adorning the gibbet."

"Every moment my heart arranges its thoughts of thee,
 And makes a thousand guesses as to where thou art.

373 I fear, my love, that the bird of my soul
 Will one day fly from its cage in the desire to be with th:

"O thou who hast laden thy camel,
 And hast fallen asleep, forgetful of the march,
 Wake, and set in the road the foot of search,
 For all have gone and thou too art of this caravan."

"Thou hearest the shoot of deparato from all
 Thou hearest the cry 'Come oo' both before and behind
 All have made a night march to a distant halting place
 Whilst thou hast slept by the road and hearest but the sound
 of the holt."

"O thou who desirest a glimpse of that Face.
 Thou needst eyes other than those in thy head
 Dost thou wish to miss none of those Glances?
 Thou must have eyes in the heart, and within them yet other
 eyes"

"The love of theo is not to be bought by every buyer
 The price of one hair of theo is this world and the next
 Thy love is not a rose which blooms in streets and markets,
 Nor is it such musk as is found in the perfumer's shop" 371

"Those complainest of the defilements of the world
 Fired not fault with others, for thou, too, art one of the throng.
 Preserve thine own skirt from defilement
 Nam, for the two or three days which thou hast to spend on
 this midden."

"In loving lovely ones one must accustom one's self to madness,
 Ooo must lead one's soul to the endurance of separation.
 One must become as a bottle filled with blood,
 And then pour one's heart out at one's eyes"

"In our religion thou must ever be constant
 And keep the faith while in the circle of infidelity
 This is the path of love of our beloved,
 To stand ever with the sacred thread of idolatry round the
 neck, and yet remain a Musalmān"

"A rose-garden of beauty is the cheek of my enslaver
 When it displays itself before my wounded heart

"Every tear which I have shed from my eyes
I have first mixed with the poison of my grief for her absence.

I fear that at the resurrection a hell will arise
From these tears which I have shed in her absence."

"How long wilt thou fill thy heart with wrath on account of one thing or another?

375 How long wilt thou make thy breast no more than a coffer of gold?

Thy business is not to make thy heart turbid;
Thy business is to make it as clear as a mirror."

CLV. NAZĪRĪ OF NĪSHĀPŪR.¹

In graceful wit and clearness of intellect he is the equal of Shikibī of Isfahān. He is now in the service of the Khānkhanān,

¹ In the *Tabaqāt* Nazīrī is thus described, 'Maulānā Nazīrī is from Nīshāpūr and is not devoid of freshness of intellect. He has written many tasteful verses. He was formerly in the service of the Khānkhanān, but now he has gone to Makkah.' Abū-l-Fażl thus describes him in the *Āīn*, 'He possesses poetical talent, and the garden of thought has a door open for him. Outwardly he is a good man, but he also desires plans for the architecture of the heart.'

Muhammad Husain Nazīrī of Nīshāpūr left his home for Kāshān, where he held poetical contests with several poets, such as Fahmī, Hātim, and others. He then went to India, where he formed a patron in Mīrzā 'Abdur Raḥīm, Khānkhanān. In A.D. 1603-04 he went to Makkah on a pilgrimage, after which he is said to have become very pious. On his return to India he lived at Ahmadābād in Gujerāt where he died in 1613. Jahāngīr says in his *Tūzuk* (p. 91) 'Some time before this (early in A.D. 1611) I had summoned to court Nazīrī of Nīshāpūr who is well known for his poems and poetical geniuses, and at present lives in Gujerāt as a merchant. He now arrived and paid his respects, and presented to me an encomiastic *qasīdah* in the model of a *qasīdah* of Anvarī's, in return for which I presented him with a thousand rupees, a horse, and a robe of honour.' The *Ma'āṣir-i-Raḥīmī* says that Nazīrī was a skilful goldsmith, and that he died, after having seen his patron in Āgra, in A.H. 1022 (A.D. 1613) at Ahmadābād, where he lies buried in a mosque which he had built near his house. According to the *Mir'ātul-l-Ālam* he gave what he had to his friends and the poor. For the couplet written concerning him by the famous poet Ṣā'ib see (*Āīn*, 580 n.).

To day the breeze has a scent of fidelity
 As though it knew something of love
 It has thrown my poor mad heart into a turmoil
 Perchance it has somewhere found cause to be disturbed

At times I weep at times I cease from weeping,
 Lest haply from somewhere I should hear thy voice
 Not for a moment am I free from thoughts of thee
 I sometimes fear that I may forget to draw my next breath'

The eyes should know the meaning of grief
 The heart's pain should be set forth in weeping
 In the breast should be sparks of fire instead of a heart
 The heart¹ instead of tears should be in the eyes

Every year when the rose comes again into the garden
 Joy and gladness comes into the world
 On the rose's page it is easy to read her faithlessness
 Lo! the nightingale breaks into lamentations'

374

One quarter of my life was spent in ignorance
 One quarter of it was spent thou knowest how
 One quarter of it was spent in folly and idleness
 And one quarter was spent in grief and repentance

My heart is wounded in a hundred ways by grief for thy absence
 In thy absence I feel that the tumult of the day of resurrection is before me
 I draw in my breath, but exhale it not again
 For between my lip and my heart are more than a thousand hells

¹ Literally liver

The pigeon brought me thy letter and I live. I should have died

Had not that bird of auspicious pinion brought me that letter.

I shall write at length to her of Nazmī's state
But where will that careless cypress-like beauty cast an eye
on the letter?"

"In the bath I saw Pari Khānnūm with a face like a fairy,
Nay, I saw a spark of fire sitting in the water."

"From thy theft of my heart and thy subsequent avoidance of
me it is clear
That the sole object of thy friendship with me was the theft
of my heart."

"The down which sprouts on the rose of my beloved's cheek
Is a violet which sprouts on a bed of tulips."

CLIX. VUQŪ'Ī OF NĪSHĀPŪR.¹

He was a relation of Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad Khān² and his name was Muhammad Sharīf. Alas, that such a noble³ name should be borne by such a vile fellow! For he was more heretical than any person who, in this brief age, was known by the same

¹ Muhammad Sharīf Vuqū'ī belonged, according to the *Ma'āṣir-i-Raḥīm*, to a distinguished family of Sayyids in Nīshāpūr. His mother was the sister of Amīr Shāhmīr, who had been for a long time Assay-master under Shāh Tahmāsp.

² A relation and friend of Akbar's foster-mother, and one of the leading nobles at Court. He was commander of Dihlī from the beginning of Akbar's reign and was instrumental in bringing about the fall of Bairam Khān. He was successively governor of Mālwā, Gujārāt, and Mālwā again, and in A.D. 1576 was made a commander of five thousand. He died at Ujjain in Mālwā in A.D. 1590-91. His wife, Bābū Āghā, was related to Akbar's mother. She died in A.D. 1596-97. *Vide Ain-i-Akbarī*, i, 332; *Badšāhī* vol. ii (text), 36 *et passim*.

³ Sharīf means 'noble.'

and is enrolled in that band of poets who are entitled gentlemen of the suite. In imitation of that *qasidah* by Shaikh Nizami of Ganjī (may God rest his soul,) which begins,

"I am king of the kings of learning, by means of the excellence of my grace of language
The earth and the age have taken on themselves the likeness of the sky,"

he wrote the following *qasidah* —

"I can scarcely contain myself in my excellence when the wine of my songs in its vat
Rends the clothes on my body, when sublime realities seethe within me
Waylay me not with foolish stories, for, with the fire of high resolve
I desire to raise steam from my brain and my eyes throughout the night
I have become the trusted adviser of those who hasten towards reunion (with the Beloved)
For I never return a boastful answer
I am the dog of the threshold, but all night I gnaw my collar,
For the desire of hunting seizes me, not the intention of watching"

The following verses also are by him —

"Although for an age I have girt up my loins in thy service
what rank have I gained?
I should have become a Brahman had I so often girt myself 376
with the sacred thread"

"I travel on a deadly road, not knowing to what end it may lead

From what has been said it will appear that Nizamuddin Ahmad, the author of the *Tabaqat* who died on November 18, 1594 (vide vol. II, text p. 397), some ten years before Nazri left for Mecca has anticipated Nazri's pilgrimage. It is possible that the short accounts of the poets in the *Tabaqat* received some additions after the death of the author.

¹ The text bases, but the sense demands *pīk*.

The torment of the stranger's hard-heartedness has cast fire
into my heart

For though thou afflictest him a hundred times he turns not
to thee."

"Beneath the wound of thy sword I flinch not intentionally;
It may be that I give thee some knowledge of my
weakness."

"She reminds me of the restlessness which I suffer in her
absence,

One would think that once in the days of my youth she had
asked me how I did."

"For each one of the fair that I see I experience such ecstasies
of love,

380 That the fire of desire for her leaps into flame in my soul."

"Every hour thou accusest me of some fresh fault,
As thou seekest only to vex me I wonder not at this."

"I wish not to be questioned at the day of judgment,
For I fear that I should have to tell what I have suffered in
my love for thee."

"Thou vexest none but me, and I am glad
That thou hast such dealings with none but me."

"In the night of absence from thee I suffer grief in a hundred
forms,
In the midst of the sighs and lamentations which my mouth²
utters."

"One can see from without the burning of my heart in my
body,

¹ The poet means to say that he could hardly venture even to long
his beloved had she not once shown him some slight mark of favour.

² Literally 'head.'

name¹ He was not a *Bādāwīni* pure and simple nor a *Sabābi*² 379 pure and simple, but was betwixt and between these two sects damned by God and cursed by the people, and believed in cycles³ and held the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, nay, he contended and strove for these doctrines One day in Bhimbu,⁴ which is a city on the border of the highlands of Kashmir, he came to my lodging in order to ask me to accompany him into Kashmir He saw some slabs of rock, weighing over thirty-five tons⁵ each, lying about, and said sorrowfully 'These unfortunates are awaiting the time when they shall put on human form' In spite of all these vile beliefs he has written *qasidahs* in praise of the holy *Imāms* (may the acceptance of God be on them all), but these must have been written when he was young. In penmanship, letter-writing and accounts he had wonderful skill, and although he was not studious he had devoted some attention to Arabic works on history and had acquired familiarity with their style The following few complete are by him —

"In order that my lamentations in thy absence may not betray my secret,

I pray that my weakness may utter no sound in the night of my sorrow"

"How will shame allow me to raise my head when thou seest me?

For my love for thee has made thy name the talk of all tongues

¹ Such as Sharif¹, Sarmadi of Isfahan and Sharif¹ Amuli (vide p 340 both heretics in Badaoni's eyes See also vol II (text), p 215

² I have not been able to discover what the distinctive doctrines of the *Sabābis* were, but they were evidently regarded by Badaoni as vile heretics For mention of the *Bādāwīni* vide p 283 note 4

³ That is to say, the changes of the natural kingdoms, animal, vegetable and mineral, in various cycles Vequ'i's remark on the rocks, which follows shortly, indicates the nature on his belief on this point

⁴ A pargana town on a stream of the same name in the Cchinhat Daud in the Panjab The stream flows four miles N W of Gujarat and eventually joins the *Jalalia nold*, a branch of the Cchinhat

⁵ The original has 'a thousand mans each' A thousand mans are 35½ tons

It may be that God will yet give thee a feeling heart.
 I die of jealousy when I consider that love for thee
 Gives to each heart which it enters pain eternal.
 By night when I light my heart with thoughts of thee
 The burning glow of my heart is a lamp to the seven
 heavens."

He wrote this *qasidah* in praise of her holiness the lady who is the shining one of paradise and the chief of women,¹ (may God accept her), but when it came to me in this form I found it to be one of his blasphemous compositions, and I have therefore not considered it right to quote any of the encomiastic couplets. Sharif's death occurred in A.H. 1002 (A.D. 1593-94.). He left many valuable books behind him, but they were lost in the deep sea and found their way to the ocean which surrounds the world.

CLX. VIDĀ'I OF HIRĀT.

He was possessed of some attainments. He came to Hindūstān and died here. The following verses are his:—

382 "The land of Ind is full of darkness, like the night of separation.

Whoever has come hither regrets and repents it.
 Vidā'i, seek no gain from the land of India, but leave it.
 It is gain enough if thou carry thy life in safety from India."

In imitation of the couplet which runs:—

"Happy is that time when, gazing on thy face, I am beside myself.

From time to time I come to myself, and again and again I am beside myself."

He wrote:—

"It is not from wine at thy feast that I am beside myself.
 The cup kisses thy lip, and it is from jealousy that I am beside myself."

¹ Fātimah, daughter of Muhammad and wife of 'Alī.

As one sees the flame of a candle in a lamp covered with a shirt

I fell as one dead when I bide thee farewell,
That thou mightest know that in thy absence I have no desire
to live"

The following few couplets are from a *qasidah* which he wrote in praise of the Imam Husain (on him be peace) —

" Whenever, from the fierceness of love's fire, I burst into flame
like a candle,

The flame ever and anon beats against me like a moth
Since my love has assured himself of my fidelity and love he employs himself in cruelty

Would that I had never submitted myself to the violence of a test!

If I should become a partaker of the bounty of thy heart
It will be possible for me to convey a hundred tales in one word

So common has the content of opulence become in the ego of thy magnanimity

That the soulless body turns with loathing from the prospect 381
of life eternal

When the weight of thy commands affects the nature of the wind

Even the light breeze oppresses the earth with the weight of a mountain

There is no king like me to day in the kingdom of eloquence,
Whoever doubts this let him test the truth of what I say by this *Bismi llah*¹ which I utter

O ye, beloved of the virgin of reality, when my thoughts soar

They display their beauty through the windows of heaven"
From another *qasidah*,

" If cruelty is done by thee my heart cheerfully submits to it

¹ 'In the name of God,' the formula used in beginning any work. The poet represents what he has said as merely an introduction to what is to follow.

"In my unrest I am ever seized by the desire of visiting the street of that moonlike beauty.

But the thought of her infidelities arrests me by the way."

"Her ringlet trembles on her cheek with the zephyr of my sigh

. As the smoke of the candle trembles in the passing breeze."

CLXII. VASFI,

His name is Mir 'Abdu-'llāh¹ and he is an excellent penman. He is the pupil of Shāh Ghīyāṣ and Maulānā Rāqimī, and writes seven scripts. He is enrolled among the *aḥadīs*. Through his mother he is related to Mīrzā Nīzāmu-d-dīn Ahmad. He sometimes turns his attention to poetry. The following verses are his:—

"Now that I have experienced the sweetness of love's sorrow

I enjoy a thousand bursts of weeping for every laugh of mine."

A quatrain.

"Where is love? For my inner self is dark as the darkest night:

The secrets of God are hidden from my understanding.

It may be that love will lead me to them, but, if not,

Then is the end of my journey far indeed from my lame efforts."

Another quatrain.

"If a poet form the intention of eulogizing thy greatness.

His thoughts are imprisoned in his mind by the weightiness of the subject.

In thy reign strife has so disappeared from our midst
That the flame sympathizes with the cotton in its constancy."²

¹ Mir 'Abdu-'llāh is mentioned in the *Āīn* (i, 103) as one of the renowned calligraphers of the age.

² i.e. even the flame of the candle sympathizes with the wick.

CLXI VASQ'I OF HIRĀT.¹

His name is Ibn 'Ah, and he was in the emperor's service.
The following verses are by him —

" Thy brow is not furrowed from coquetry

 The ocean of thy beauty is rising in billows, and this is the
 reason of those furrows

Thou art still intoxicated with the wine of coquetry

As is evident, my dark beauty, from thy arrogance

Why, like the candle, should I bring the fire of my heart to
 my tongue ?

Since its fire is clearly to be seen in the fiery sighs which I
 heave

What need is there of the new moon on the night of 'Id

To thee, from the opening in whose sleeve the new moon is
 apparent ? "

" Her two ruddy lips have between them the water of life 383

True it is that whenever two who are friends to the death
 come together there is ever a life between them " *

" As no dust settles on the mirror so my heart is vexed by
 nobody

For I have ceased to hope for manhood from the people of
 this age "

" Happy is that state of intoxication which leads me enap-
 tured to thee

And is so deep that I cannot be removed from thy street "

¹ The *Tabaqat* mentions Ibn 'Ah under the *takalluf* of *Vasq'i*, but gives no information regarding him. The one couplet of his there quoted is not quoted here, so that it cannot be determined whether the *Vasq'i* of the *Tabaqat* is the *Vasq'i* here mentioned, but *Vasq'i* is not improbably a copyist's error for *Vaq'i*.

* i.e. whenever two such friends meet there is always between them the thought that each is prepared to give his life for the other.

" All at once I have become the whirlwind of the valley of grief,

On account of my evil passions I am become a vagabond in the world."

" The tale of my grief and woe has passed all bounds,
Love has come upon me and has made me his own from head to foot."

CLXV. VAFĀ'Ī OF ISFAHĀN.¹

He was for some time in Kashmir, and then came to Lāhor and was with Zain Khān Kūka.² The following verses are his:—

" Knock at the door of the heart in the middle of the night,
for when the day appears
All other doors are opened, but this door is shut."

" The real dearth of fidelity is this, that the lovely ones of this age.

Set out the well-spread table and then drink the heart's blood of the guest."

CLXVI. HAMDAMĪ.

He is Mīrzā Barkhurdār,³ who has the title of Khān-i-'Alam.

¹ According to the *Ātishkada-yi-Āzari* Vafā'ī belonged to the 'Imādiyyah Kurds, and was brought up at Isfahān. His quatrains are good. Dāghistānī calls him a Turk and says that he was at first an ironer of clothes. From a defect in one of his eyes he was called *Vafā'ī-yi-kār*, or the blind Vafā'ī. Dāghistānī adds that his impudent flattery was proverbial. In the *Aīnī* (i, 592) he is thus described, 'He possesses sparks of taste. He wandered for some time in the desert of retirement, but has now put the mantle of worldliness on his shoulders.'

² *Vide p. 327.*

³ Mīrzā Bakhurdār was, in the fortieth year of Akbar's reign, a commander of two hundred and fifty. His father had been killed in a fight with the Bihār rebel Dalpat, who was afterwards caught and kept in prison till the 44th year, when, on payment of a heavy *pīshkash* he was allowed to return to his home. Barkhurdār, however, who wished to avenge the death of his father, laid wait for him, but Dalpat managed to escape. Akbar was much annoyed with Barkhurdār and imprisoned him. He was released after the accession of Jahāngīr, and in 1611 accompanied an embassy to

CLXIII Vāṣī

He was a fictions and jovial man. Leaving Ḥrāq he went on a pilgrimage to the Hijaz and thence travelled for India by sea. The sailors ran the ship into a whirlpool and disappeared in the sea of annihilation, but he reaching the shore of safety, entered the dominions of (Ibrahim) Qub Shāh¹ of the Dakhan. There he engaged in a wrestling bout with one of the wrestlers of that country, and threw him. The wrestler's comrades, actuated by envy and rancour, put some poison into Vāṣī's cup. The fatal catastrophe of his death occurred in A.H. 977 (A.D. 1560-70). The following verses are quoted as a memorial of him —

" My heart goes warily along its road and I fear
That some sorrow is following it

My darling, thou art become so harsh tempered
That no one can surprise thee in harshness of temper

CLXIV Vāṣī or Hīlīt

He was originally known as Mir Waiz (the preacher) and was a native of Bidarbhikan. He held stirring meetings for preaching. The following verses are his —

" Though my head became the dust of thy path and be carried away on the breeze

It is impossible that the thought of thy face should leave my memory "

" My heart is disturbed, as are thy tresses in the breeze,
Thou hast not undone even the smallest² knot in my string
of difficulties "

¹ Ibrahim Qub Shāh (A.D. 1530-1580) was the fourth king of the Qub Shāhī dynasty of Golconda. *The Historic Landmarks of the Deccan*, by Major T. W. Haig, p. 61, 217, 230.

² There is a play upon words here which cannot be reproduced in a translation. The words *gōjī* ("end of a hair") are used to describe anything very small.

CLXVII. HAJRĪ.

He is descended from his holiness Shaikh Jām, (may God hallow his tomb). He was very pious, chaste, and pure, and had an angelic disposition. He has compiled a *divān* consisting of five thousand couplets. The following verses are some of the products of his genius :—

A quatrain.

“ O Rose to whose skirt no hand can reach
 We love Thy name and are intoxicated by Thy perfume !
 This is the marvel, that Thou art present and yet absent ²
 from our midst
 Thou art invisible, yet all that is visible is from Thee ! ”

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An ode.

“ It is the singer of the morning, joy-diffusing, that awakens
 desire in our hearts
 The nightingale of early morn is welcomed as an intimate to
 the assembly of the Rose.
 Become by the height of love’s good fortune the *humā* ³ of the
 lote-tree of Paradise
 For the garden and the scenery of this village (the world)
 oppress, the spirits.
 Wash thy mouth with the water of repentance from the dregs
 of thy sins,
 For thy life has been spent in transgression and the time for
 restraint has come.
 Put on the breastplate of worship, for, ambushed by thy
 life’s way,
 The robber of thy time stands to meet thee,
 With his blood-shedding sword in his hand.

¹ This poet is not mentioned in the *Āīn* or in the *Tabaqāt*. Mr. Blochmann, referring, on p. 622 of vol. i of the *Āīn*, to another poet bearing the same *akhallus*, styles him ‘Hijrī.’ I prefer to connect the *takhallus* with ^{۱۲} *hajr* (*hajr*) rather than with ^{۱۳} *hijrat*.

² i.e. invisible. This quatrain is *Sūfi*-istic—The ‘Rose’ is God.

³ *Vide* p. 311 note 2. In this ode again the ‘Rose’ is God.

He is the son of Hamdam Beg¹ who was one of the famous *amirs* of his late majesty. Hamdamⁱ is well known for his bravery and his goodness of disposition. He used to occupy himself with poetry. The following couplet is his —

"See my heart, which has on every part of it a flesh scar caused by love's madness,

It is an ocean of grief and everywhere in it there is a 386 whirlpool of blood."

In imitation of that *ghazal* of Aṣafi's, which begins —

"My slayer closes her eyes at my dying gasps

Until my heart longs with regret to catch her gaze"

He wrote, by the emperor's order, the following —

"The arrow of that slayer came and passed through my heart,

And the scar remains on my heart till the day of resurrection"

Shaikh Faizi, at the time when this *ghazal* was under discussion at Āgra, wrote the following —

"Place thy foot on it (my heart),² "O slayer, as I gasp in death,

That thus I may have an opportunity of kissing thy foot."

At this time (Faizi) produced many *ghazals* of this sort from his *drāṣṭān* and dressed them up to suit the emperor's taste.³

Persia. The embassy returned in 1620 and Birkhurdar was made a commander of five thousand. On Shahjahan's accession he was made governor of Bihār and a commander of six thousand, but was very soon removed from Bihār. In 1632 he was pensioned off as he was old and given to opium, and received an annual pension of one *lakh* of rupees. He died a natural death at Āgra. *Vide Ain-i-Akbari*, i. 512.

¹ According to the *Ain-i-Akbari* (i. 465) Birkhurdar's father was 'Abdu-r-Rahmān Duldār. Hamdam Beg was apparently his title. Duldār is the name of a branch of the Barlas tribe.

² I am not satisfied with the reading of this verse. I believe that the text is corrupt or that some context is required to convey the exact meaning, or that it is an example of Faizi's peculiar Persian.

³ The subject of this sentence is not expressed. The sentence may refer to Hamdamⁱ, but its contemptuous tone suggests that Faizi is indicated.

"The rose, perchance, came to the rose-garden from beneath
my beloved's arm
For it has the sweet perfume of her shift."

"Whose spell-casting eyes have once more fluttered my heart?
Whose ringlets, diffusing ambergris, have once more become
the chain for my madness of love?"

"I fear that my hard-hearted love will wreck the affairs of my
soul.

Oh, may nobody have a love so hard-hearted as mine!"

"Who am I, fallen in the dust at her door? A helpless one,
A hopeless one, a friendless one, a destitute one."

"Ah, vagrant heart, thou hast chosen thy place in the dust at
her door!

Thou hast found a good place for thyself."

"If thou desirest faithful friends.

I swear by thy fidelity that none is more faithful than I."

"Desirous of being with thee for an age I have sought to be
with thee,

When I found that I could not be with thee I accustomed
myself to thy absence."

CLXVIII. HĀSHIM.

He was that Muḥammad Hāshim who was mentioned¹ in connection with Bairām Khān, the Khānkhanān. He was 389 brother's son to Maulānā Shāh Muḥammad Unsī.² He wrote

¹ Vide vol. ii (text), p. 41, where Hāshim is mentioned as having sold to Bairām Khān for 60,000 tankas, a sum afterwards increased to 100,000 tankas, an ode which Bairām afterwards palmed off as his own. Hāshim is there described as 'Hāshimī of Qandahār.'

² Possibly Maulānā Shāh Muḥammad of Shāhābād, one of Akbar's translators. Vide Āīn-i-Akbarī, i, 106, 540 and Badāoni, Vol. ii, text 595, 596, where he is described as a man of depraved mind.

Make not this inn with two doors a palace for thine
abiding

For strife makes rents in its walls and the wind of death is
keen.

Hāfiẓ Hāfiẓ in beauty of verse and in the way of perfection
Is the disciple of the wise man of Shiraz and of the saint of
Tabriz."¹

"Sweet is the season of winter, especially in the spring-time
of youth

If the rose of joy blossoms from the cup of wine"

"Happy was that night when the street of the tavern was our
resting place,

And the splendour of the cup-bearer's form was the lamp of
the assembly

The breeze of re-union with the Beloved gave us fresh life,
Or it would have been difficult to live under the hand of
separation"

"In the morning, the time for the rose and the splendour of
the tulip,

The voice of the ringdove brought subtle intuitions to our ears" 388

"My lodging is in the street of disgrace,
Its door is removed and its wall is ruined"

"Yesterday I had a desire for the holy temple and made my
way to the rose garden,

I went and walked around² my loved one's lodging"

¹ 'The saint of Tabriz' is Mawlānā Jalāl ad-Dīn Rūmī. The identity of 'the wise man of Shiraz' is not so certain. He may have been Sa'dī or Hāfiẓ; probably the latter.

² طواف the ceremonial circumambulation performed around the Ka'bah at Makkah.

Thou didst say 'Die then of the pain of love for me ;'
It is an age since I have been dying of this love."

It has been said before that the Khānkhānān, Bairam Khān bought one of his *ghazals* for a *lākh* of *tankas*. The ode was that which began.

" Who am I ? one who has dropped from his hand the reins of his heart.

And has fallen by the hands of his heart in the road of grief."

His death occurred in the city of Lāhor, in A.H. 972 (A.D. 1564-65).

Conclusion.

This is the account of some of those poets, most of whom were contemporary with the author and were writing during the time in which he was writing, and whose *divans* are current in this age and are circulated as examples. As for those who have leapt from the net of this memoir and are here neither described nor indicated by casual mention, I make them over to those who shall hereafter set foot in the plain of existence, for this series (of poets) is as endless as the *Burhán-i-Tatbiq*¹, and to comprehend them all within the limits of one age, or one short space of time is beyond the limits (of any capacity) and beyond the extremity (of its powers).

A māṣnavī.

" Two couplets one day seared my heart,
As the singer was chanting them to his guitar
Many Junes, Decembers, and Aprils
Will come after we have become dust and bricks,
While those who are now invisible to me
Will come and pass over my dust."

Praise be to God ! My pen, in its atrabiliousness, has, like a madman, dealt drily and coolly with everybody, and has poured out from the cup of its heart every drop of black bile which it

¹ I take this to be the name of a book. The words mean 'the demonstration of comparison.'

poet y sometimes under the name of Sama i and s metimes under that of Vafi but at last settled on the poetical name (Hashim) which is now given to him He had most excellent taste in poetry The following verses are his —

' O turtle dove, whatever thou bowallest in the garden
 Thou must surely be thinking on her cypress like form
 Like a sparrow I am caught in thy snare,
 And thou neither slayest nor releasest me

"I wander in the garden when thy face is not before me
 shedding tears of the colour of tulips,

I sit beneath each rose and tears of blood stream from my
 eyes

In my grief for thee I am filled with blood as a flask is
 filled with wine, and I desire

To pour out at thy banquet like wine the blood with which I
 am filled

I shed not tears from my eyes except on the dust at thy
 door ,

How shall I pour forth my honour in the dust at every
 door ?

Remembering her wheat coloured face I sow in the plot of
 desire

The grains of my tears which are the seeds of love's
 madness

I, Hashim, like the wine flask, shed every moment red tears
 while I sigh like an organ thinking on her wine coloured
 lip '

It is not thy mole, O silver bodied one that casts its reflec-
 tion in the wine

It is the pupil of my eye, drowned in my heart's blood '

A quatrain

"O thou whose ringlets tie the fetters of my love sick heart,
 I am distracted by those two ringlets like auibergins in colour
 and perfume

flight, is in the position of that beast¹ which shall come forth as the first sign of the Judgment Day, for it stamps on the foreheads of the circumstances of the folk of this last age the words 'this one is a Muslim,' or 'this one is an infidel,' exalting some to God's mercy and setting apart others as accursed; and the saying of the prophet (may God bless and assoil him,) is clear on this point, 'O God, I have not blessed in my prayers any but him whom Thou hast blessed, and I have not cursed in my cursings any but him whom Thou hast cursed.' It is related that that chief of the prophets (may God bless and assoil him while the sun and the moon shall rise) invoked curses on the polytheistic 'Arabs and on the chiefs of the *Qurānīsh*, and particularly on one mentioned by name, for a whole month after he had been slandered² by the wicked, and said, 'O God, curse the infidels, who stray from Thy way, who make Thy prophet a liar, and who slay Thy saints. Thou art Lord of this world and the next. O God, preserve me in safety, and join me to the pious!' And, since the end is but a return to the beginning, there is, in these days when the faith is exiled (for 'the faith appears as a stranger, and verily, it has become as it appears') every occasion for the constant recital of the following prayer, 'O God, assist him who assists the religion of Muhammad and forsake him who forsakes the faith of Muhammad!'

The author of the *Miṣādu-l-Ibād*³ four hundred years ago uttered his complaint and said :—

"O kings of the earth, hasten, all of you,
That you may catch the perfume which is all that is left of
the faith !

¹ دابة الأرض, the beast which, according to the Musalmāns, is to come forth as the first sign of the coming Judgment Day, touching the believers with the staff of Moses and marking the faces of the infidels with the seal of Solomon.

² The text has قذوت. MS. (A) has قذوت, which appears to be the correct reading.

³ I regret that I have been unable to find mention of this book, or of the name of its author. The meaning of the title is 'a highway for (God's) servants.'

had in its spot of original sin¹ and given forth from the columns² of its fingers all that came to its tongue, so that (I am not sure) what those who come after we will say when, in their search for treasure³ they have hastened⁴ in the tracks of the crows' feet of this unadventurous (pen),⁵ or what answer I shall give in respect of all my idle gossip. I fear that in accordance with the saying,

Thou shalt be treated as thou hast treated others; they will deal with me as I have dealt with these poets

"Thou hast called me a promise-breaker, but I fear

That this accusation will be laid to thy charge on the day of resurrection"

But there is here a subtle distinction if the discriminating neglect it not, and it is this, that I have apportioned eulogy and execration according to the extent of the unmistakable sacred law and have bestowed praise and blame in accordance with my zeal for the faith, and my case is similar to that of the boor who entered a company seated at table and began to eat without any regard to the others, and collected all the dishes round himself. One of the company said, 'Sir, who are you, and why do you thus intrude upon us?' He replied, 'I am a lark, and I am a servant of the *darogha*,⁶ and I am hungry.' But if others, besides myself, should be jealous for the faith I shall not resent their criticism, may, rather, my life is a sacrifice for those people who shall apprise me of my faults. But if they be not jealous for the faith let them hang their heads and hold their peace, for in truth the bird of my pen, with its sharp bill and its sublime

١ سویدا (سیعیہ) the black spot of original sin which the Muslim is believed to be in every heart

٢ حداویل 'ruled columns'

٣ The text has حکایت and MS (1) has حکایت, of either of which can I make sense حکایت the reading of MS (B), given as a variant in the text is correct

٤ The text has حکایت, The variant حکایت given in the text on the authority of MS (B) is correct

٥ زاع بای کج حکایت The letter ح at the end of حکایت is not in the text

٦ Prefect of a town or village In India, a police officer

able, confirming the truth of the verse, 'These are they who have purchased error at the price of true direction; but their traffic hath not been gainful,'¹ I am convinced that the people of succeeding generations who shall see their false fables and all their unprofitable prolixity will, in accordance with the saying, 'he who hears dispenses with the 'solution of his difficulties,' with another class of men, regretful not in the least, be perplexed, and will expect and await (something else), and therefore, that the veil may be drawn aside, it is incumbent on me, who am acquainted with some, at least, of the affairs narrated.

394 and have even been intimately connected with these transactions, to place on record what I have seen and what I have heard, for my evidence regarding these things is that of an eye-witness who is certain of what he relates, and does not spring from mere supposition and guess-work ('and when can that which is heard resemble that which is seen ?) in order that, on the one hand, my record may be an expiation of the writings,² past and present, which I have been compelled and directed to undertake, and, on the other, right may be proved to be on the side of the Mu-lim's.

Islam has gone from your hands, and ye heed it not,
Infidelity has captured the world, and ye sleep!"

Pursuing the custom of authors, who have in respect of each of their works of whatever sort, a hundred hopes of favour from the age and from the people of the age, and, having dedicated a work to somebody, make it a means of being admitted to the intimacy of kings, of begging for rewards, and of attaining their objects I, without desire or expectation (of material gain but) seeking aid from God, trusting in Him, and firmly laying hold of 393 the skirt of his universal favour and his bounty well known in bygone times have placed these, my first fruits on the dish of speech merely for the sake of virtuosos among those to come, who may be desirous of, and anxious for, information regarding our times, that haply its flavour may please the palates of their souls, and also that some relish from the morsels on the table of their favour may become the lot of the palate of the compiler of the work, who is as it were, their gardener

If thou drink wine pour a draught out on the ground,
Fear not that sin which carries some grain to others!

I shall now explain what it was that originally led me to collect these fragments². Since a complete revolution, both in legislation and in manners, greater than any of which there is any record for the past thousand years, has taken place in these days, and every writer who has had the ability to record events and to write two connected sentences has for the sake of flattering the people of this age, or for fear of them, or by reason of his ignorance of matters of faith, or of his distance from court, or for his own selfish ends, concealed the truth, and, having bartered his truth for worldly profit, and right guidance for error, has adorned falsehood with the semblance of truth, and distorted and embellished infidelity and pernicious trash until they have appeared to be laud

¹ i.e. pour a draught on the ground that those who are dead and turned to dust may benefit by it' The conceit is a favourite one among Persian poets and occurs in the 'tomb song' of Hafiz (de 43J Jarrett's edition), and frequently in the quatrains of 'Umar Khayyam

² Literally potsherds

When the people of this world set their faces towards the resurrection.

And raise their heads in bewilderment from the dust,
Captured, by their evil fate, in disobedience
Their faces blackened with shame for their sins,
When, in that confusion, in the heat of the Resurrection Day,

The rocks shall become water from the fierceness of the sun's rays,

When there shall not be, in all that plain full of grief
Any refuge but the shadow of the Most High,
Of Thy bounty, O Creator, Lord of many claims,
Cast the shadow of Thy favour on my head!

When the balance of justice is brought into the midst
And the deficiency and excess of all shall be made apparent,
When I shall have in my company mountains of sin,
Beside which the mountains shall seem no larger than a blade of grass,

It is not impossible to Thine illimitable mercy
To weigh down the scale of my obedience:
In that place of fear and confusion
When the records of each one's acts shall fly open
And my record shall be so black
That it will be impossible to enter any fresh sin therein,
Wash my record with the cloud of Thy clemency,
And, by that washing, raise me to honour:
When the fire of hell shall leap forth as a banner
To draw to itself all the people of the world
Pour, of Thy grace, some water on my fire
And bring me forth purified from that fire.
When over hell the narrow bridge¹ shall appear

¹ بَرْجَلٌ (*as-sirāl*) the bridge over the midst of hell, which is here graphically described, must be passed by all after the Judgment: Muhammad and his Muslims will, with God's aid, pass rapidly over its path, narrower and sharper than the edge of a knife, but the unbelievers, following them, will lose their footing, and fall through the briars, which hedge it in on either side, into the flames of hell.

than justice, be nothing but mere boasting and vaunting, which are repugnant to refined natures, and so far am I from vain-glory and pride in this matter that I am ashamed of them, and if I should accept my lofty flights regarding them this base coin of mine, this worthless and contemptible merchandise, my faulty and unappreciated style, is sufficient to refute and falsify my claim.

In these matters nobody knows me as well as I know myself.

A Story by way of Moral.

A fox said to a camel, 'O uncle,

Tell me truly whence you come'

The camel replied, 'Lo, I come from the bath'

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Where I have bathed my limbs in water hot and cold.'

The fox said, 'You have fine parts of what you say.'

'For both your forelegs and your hindlegs are very dirty.'

It is now high time for me to raise the hand of supplication to the court of that Providence who lacks nothing and who cherishes his servants, and to ask of Him that which shall be most expedient for me, although His glorious majesty is fettered by no expediency. I shall therefore conclude with the following supplications, which are free from all spaciousness and elaboration, and are (therefore) not far from the assurance of a favourable answer.

Supplications

O King, look upon us with the eye of acceptance and mercy! O Lord of all things, visible and invisible, compose us in the seeking of Thy will, and remove from our way, and from the way of all Muslims, all disquiet, disquiet and perplexity! Bestow Thy pardon and forgiveness on us in our time. Let Thy gracious favour and guidance both impel and lead us. Deliver us not up into the hands of our own disunion and leave us not to ourselves, neither entrust us with ourselves, but preserve us from our own wickedness, and bring our affairs and those of all Muslims to a happy conclusion in Thy pardon and acceptances. Pardon what we have done in the past and preserve us from what we would do in the future.

stantly hidden under the protection of God's guardianship, will receive the ornament of acceptance, and no damage will reach it from the evil eyes of squinting (rogues) of varying degrees,¹ and the hands of impotent (foes) will fail to reach the skirt of the beauty of this creature of my wit, and whoever is not admitted to the knowledge of its secret will remain disappointed.

A thousand thanks to the God of the world.

For that I have entrusted my jewel to one who can appraise jewels.

It was the intention of my languid and secretive² heart and my wearied mind to gather together the "Key to the History of *Kashmīr*,³ and the histories of the Kings of Gujarāt, Bengal and Sind, with an account of the wonders of India, and to have them bound together in one volume with this, but that stuff did not match this, for silk must be joined with silk. Therefore, on Friday, the twenty-third of the month *Jamādī'u-s-Sānī* A.H. 1004 (March 5, A.D. 1595) I shortened the rope of prolixity and contented myself with writing this much. I composed the following verses with the object of giving, in an enigma, the date of its completion :—

Thanks be to God, by whose clemency this Selection⁴ has arrived at completion

When I sought the date of it from my heart (my heart) replied

(It is) a selection which has no second.

Praise be to God whose assistance has enabled me to complete it, and blessings and peace be on the best of mankind, our lord

¹ Badāoni here does not hesitate to attack the highest.

² The text here has ساتیر (*sātīr*) 'a butcher,' or 'butcherly,' which makes no sense. MS. (A) has ساتر (*sātīr*) which I have translated. Badāoni apparently refers again to his intention of keeping his book a secret.

³ This was, apparently, the History of Kashmīr, based on that of Mullā Shāh Muḥammad of Shāhābād, which Badāoni, by Akbar's order, compiled in A.D. 1591. *Vide* vol. ii, text, p. 374.

⁴ The letters of the word انتخاب ('selection') have the following values, ۱ + ۵۰ + ۴۰۰ + ۶۰۰ + ۱ + ۲ = ۱۰۵۴. If we subtract the value of the second letter, ۵۰, we obtain the date 1004.

And the people shall raise a shout for joy,¹
 That bridge, long as the dark nights of separation,
 Soul-melting as the sighs from lovers' hearts,
 Narrower than a hair,
 Darker than the smoke of the night of separation,
 Sharper than a sharp cutting sword,
 Shooting forth tongues of flame like hell fire,
 If Thou take me not by the hand, woe is me,
 For the nethermost pit of hell will be my place!
 I bring no goods with me but hope,
 O God, make me not hopeless of forgiveness!

Please be to God, and thanks, that after all this smearing of myself with the smoke of the midnight lamp and all this fever of the brain I have gained freedom from this hasty work. Ah, how much distraction have I not suffered at the hands of these troubled times before this valuable coin of time (to complete my work) and this priceless jewel (the work itself) was obtained.

Please God this work will, for a while, be preserved from the treachery of lack of preservation,² of faithlessness, or of evil guardianship, and will thus be safeguarded from the picking and stealing of the ignorant cutpurse of this age, and, being con-

1. جل جل Joy does not, at first sight, appear to be an emotion suitable to the occasion. The meaning may be either that men will be overjoyed to see that hell is bridged at all, or that the devils in hell will rejoice to see that the bridge is so perilous.

2. Badaoni here declares his intention of keeping this work, the *Muntakhabu'l-Tatariq*, a secret. His anxiety that it should not become known during his life time will be easily understood by anybody who has read it. He designed it to be a counterblast, in the interests of Islam, to the writings of Abu'l Fazl and his elder brother Faizi, who had borne the chief part in leading Akbar into the paths of religious speculation and had so far succeeded in leading him away from orthodoxy as almost to persuade him that he was God. According to a statement in the *Mir'atu'l-Ham* the book was made public during the reign of Jahangir, who showed his displeasure by disbelieving the statement of Badaoni's children that they had not known of its existence. Badaoni's work was certainly not known in A.H. 1025 (A.D. 1616) the tenth year of Jahangir's reign, in which year the *Ma'asir-i-Rohim* was written, whose author complains of the want of a history besides the *Tabaqat* and the *Albarnama*.

Muhammad, and on his family, and on his great companions, till
the Day of Resurrection.

THE END

'Abdu 'l-Quddūs, Shaikh, of Gangoth, 5, 69, 82, 127.

'Abdu-'r-Rahīm, Mīrzā, Khān-i-Khānān, 152, 166, 173, 174, 193, 262, 273, 302 n 1, 304 n 3, 318 n 2, 351, 393, 429 n 1, 439 n 4, 440, 454 n 2, 473, 495, 508.

'Abdu-'r-Rahmān, Ghāzī, 46 n 6.

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P. 405, note 3. For ‘magians’ read ‘Magians.’

P. 408, l. 24. For ‘Fusīnī’ read ‘Fusūnī.’

P. 425, note 5, l. 1. For ‘Salaimān’ read ‘Sulaimān.’

P. 436, l. 1. For ‘Shīrār’ read ‘Shīrāz.’

P. 473, l. 17. For ‘Majnīms’ read ‘Majnūns.’

Do. note 1, l. 9. For ‘Safāviyya’ read ‘Safaviyya.’

P. 493, l. 19. For ‘Naṣīḥī’ read ‘Naṣīḥī.’

Do. note 2. Insert “397” after ‘p.’ and *dele* “note.”

P. 495, note 3, l. 2 (on p. 496). For ‘Sāqīrāma’ read ‘Sāqīnāmu’

P. 530, l. 19. For ‘Muslinis’ read ‘Muslims.’

ERRATA.

P 19, note 1, 1 20 For 'Farishtu' read 'Firishta'
 P 43, note 4, 1 3 For 'Pampat' read 'Panipat'
 P 45, note 2, 1 3 For 'Iyaltamish' read 'Iltutmish'
 Do do 1 5 For 'Farishtu' read 'Firishta'
 P 82, 1 9 For 'Rizwan' read 'Rizwān'
 P 80, 1 3 After 'year' insert 'H'
 R 'ج' ۱, ۴ 'Dale' and
 P 109, note 3, 1 1 For 'utūm' read 'ulūm'
 P 115, 1 16 Between 'work' and 'Mir' insert 'of'
 Do 1 26 For 'My' read 'Thy'
 P 125, note 2, 1 1 For 'Tawawis' read 'Tawawis'
 P 130, II 1, 26 } For 'Abdu u nabi' read 'Abdu n
 P 131, II 12, 21, and n. 4, 1 6 } nabi
 P 139, note 3 For 'test' read 'text'
 P 147, note 1, 1 3 For 'Steps to prophethood' read 'Degrees in
 'prophet-hood'
 P 169, note 3 For مُهَاجِرَاتٍ read مُهَاجِرَاتٍ
 P 173, note 1, 1 1 For 'Dihli' read 'Dihli'
 P 178, note 1, 1 4 For 'Shah' read 'Khan'
 P 198, 1 19 For 'qasidah' read 'qasidah'
 P 210, note 6, 1 4 (on p. 211) For 'approbrious' read 'opprobrious'
 P 210, note 2, 1 2 For 'Bijapör' read 'Bijapur'
 P 217, 1 2 For 'Rākū' read 'Kakū'
 P 239, 1 4 For 'Taglirah' read 'Tazkirah'
 P 240, note 3, 1 2 For 'Badooni' read 'Badaoni,
 P 241, 1 16 For 'Ka'bāh' read 'Ka'bah'
 P 246, last line For 'Subūh' read 'Sabūh'
 P 248, note 1, 1 1 For 'sleeps' read 'sleep'
 P 262, note 1, 1 4 For 'Shambla' read 'Shambū'
 P 283, note 4, 1 6 For 'Taumür' read 'Timür'
 P 300, 1 14 For 'lives' read 'lines'
 P 318, note 2, 1 14 For 'takhalus' read 'takhallus'
 P 329, note 1, 1 8 For 'bighas' read 'bighas'
 P 348, note 2, II 1 and 2 For 'conservation' read 'conversation'
 P 362, 1 14 For 'Aqil' read 'Aqīl'
 P 376 For note 3 substitute 'The poem by Jāmi'

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